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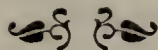
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"God Our Friends and Ourselves"

PELLIANA

PELL OF PELHAM



THOMAS PELL

*First Lord
of the Manor of Pelham
Westchester Co., New York*

V. I, no. 1
NEW SERIES VOL. I, No. 1

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September 1962

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❧ FOREWORD ❧

How often historians are wont to use the phrase, "It is the verdict of history," and go on to reveal the traits most indicative of personages who have left their mark upon the annals of time. The lives of John and Thomas Pell and their sister, Bathsua Pell Makin, are notable in an era of notables: John, who was the most eminent mathematician of his time; Thomas, whose life story is the subject of this *Pelliana*; and Bathsua, of whom the *Dictionary of National Biography* says, "She became the most learned Englishwoman of her time, and was appointed tutoress to Charles I's daughters, more especially the princess Elizabeth. . . . In 1649 she was probably keeping the schools or colleges for young gentlewomen at Putney. . . . There is a very rare portrait of her by Marshall, engraved when she was a resident at Tottenham."

In essence, the story of the early Pells is the story of these three eminent scholars, the children of John Pell, schoolmaster at Southwyck in Sussex. The present *Pelliana* is devoted entirely to Thomas, who founded the Pell Manor in America. The second *Pelliana* in the current series, now in preparation, will be devoted to his famous brother and sister.

In tracing the history of Thomas Pell from the quiet rectory at Southwyck, through his college years at Cambridge, his brief term at the Court of Charles I and his years in the misery of the Flanders battlefields, it becomes clear that he not only rubbed elbows with some of the great personalities of his day, but that he held his own in a company of his peers. The Court of Charles I, torn as it was between the sympathies of a Catholic Queen and a Protestant King, was turbulent in the extreme and perhaps reflected in microcosm the larger arena of battle in incipient civil war. Thomas' decision to leave for Holland is understandable aside from any supposed courtship he may have had with a lady of the Court. He was still in his teens when he served with the forces of Sir Horace Vere in the Netherlands. Sir Horace is described by historians as the most famous soldier of his

day and the most noted of the "Fighting Veres," as the family of the Earls of Oxford was known.

The eminent John Davenport, who rose to prominence in the Anglican Church but was forced to flee to Holland in the Puritan uprising, and who was later to found the New Haven Colony, must have had some considerable influence on Thomas Pell's formative years. Finally, in his middle years, his friendship with Roger Ludlow, known as the author of the Connecticut Colony's first civil code, is perhaps indicative of Thomas' frame of mind when he turned his back on Puritan New Haven and settled in Fairfield, where he ended his days.

There are many dramatic points in his life which can only be surmised in this *Pelliana*. Some future Pell historian may be able to fill in the chapters which are sketched briefly at this time. More than this, a future Pell playwright may find a source of high drama in the trial of Lucy French Brewster at New Haven. The trial scene in the bleak New England church, with virtually all of the leading male citizens of the Colony present in their accustomed places but with the women's side of the church almost empty of spectators, with the dour magistrates presiding, and the spirited Lucy refuting the charges in a manner which can only be attributed to a lady of her undoubted quality, is indeed fraught with dramatic highlights. We can well imagine that Thomas, who was later to marry her, sitting as he was in the first cross-seat alongside "Bro. Fowler and Mr. Tuttle," fell in love with her at this time.

That Dame Grundys abounded in New Haven there is no doubt. Thomas was haled into court on numerous occasions, usually on flimsy charges. Significantly, he emerged in every instance with full vindication. Here again, a Pell lawyer of the future may wish to explore this revealing chapter on early Colonial jurisprudence, for Thomas is cited in about thirty cases. If a lawyer should indeed study the record, it is the opinion of the editor of this memoir that he will tender the memory of Thomas Pell a vigorous salute for unflagging integrity.

The verdict of history! Without doubt, the present generation of Pells will take great pride in their distinguished kinsman, and in spirit will wish to reach back across three centuries and take him by the hand.

RUTH V. ALLEY

Montpelier, Vermont
September, 1962

PELLIANA

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY

OF THE

PELLENIANS

BY

JOHN RUSKIN, ESQ. F.R.S. &c.
THE SECOND PART OF THE HISTORY
OF THE
PELLENIANS
BY
JOHN RUSKIN, ESQ. F.R.S. &c.
THE THIRD PART OF THE HISTORY
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THE FOURTH PART OF THE HISTORY
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THE SEVENTH PART OF THE HISTORY
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THE NINTH PART OF THE HISTORY
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THE TENTH PART OF THE HISTORY
OF THE
PELLENIANS
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THOMAS PELL

*First Lord of the Manor
of
Pelham*

SOUTHWYCK IN SUSSEX

Southwyck in Sussex in 1612/13, the year Thomas Pell was born, was much as it had been for many centuries past. Situated in the "Rape of Bramber" (Sussex districts were known as "Rapes" from Saxon times), one and one-half miles east of Shoreham and close to Eastbourne on the coast, it consisted of a cluster of houses ranged around a perfectly kept green focussing in ancient St. Michael's Church, with its shingled spire. The neighborhood in which it nestled was one of rich pasture lands, and, through its canal which flowed into the eastern estuary of Shoreham Harbor, Southwyck was wedded to the sea. As a consequence, Southwyck men looked to the oceans for change and adventure and across the oceans for escape, especially to North America, where settlement had just begun.

Southwyck, like most communities in the Seventeenth Century, was largely self-contained. Southwyck people traveled little. They left the hamlet only to attend a neighboring fair or to be present at a wedding or a funeral in a Sussex town. The roads were execrable, and no one willingly "traveled afield." Of course the ships brought the outside world closer. But it was rare that a Southwyck man struggled up to London once in a lifetime. It was rarer still that he went anywhere else. And when he made the effort to "go abroad" it was

generally on foot. Those who rode horses in the Seventeenth Century were few. Those who could afford a "conveyance" were fewer still.

Indeed, for most of their lives Southwyck men and women lived in the town and its immediate environs, moving on the social level into which they were born: farmers and seamen on the bedrock; above them, an amalgam of educated men including the Rector, the Schoolmaster and the Apothecary, who were closely allied with the petty gentry, or squires, as they were called; finally the nobles and newly rich men, who were apt to live in London and come to Sussex and their great houses seasonally, when they put their roots into the rich earth, their native or more frequently newly acquired hearth, for a time. Although in theory there were sharp lines of demarcation between these classes, in fact in England in the Seventeenth Century there was much intermingling on a local level and much democracy practiced in fact. There was steady climbing up and down the rungs of the social ladder and mutual respect between the classes where status had not been relegated as yet to the limbo of forgotten things.

Moreover, England, during the childhood and young manhood of Thomas Pell, was living through the stirring times of James First's reign and the first years of the tragedy of Charles I. There was the dramatic duel between James, who idolized traditional Monarchy, and Robert Cecil, whose aim was to replace the Monarchy with rule by the rich. There was the Gunpowder Plot, stage-managed by Cecil to frighten the King. There was the beginning of resistance by the new rich allied with the fanatical levelers and the emerging Scottish "Saints." There was James dreaming of empire and supporting the settlements of Massachusetts and Virginia. There were the rich men dreaming of more riches, and finally an inevitable clash between the two. By the time Thomas was fifteen the King and the Money Power, through its Parliament, were openly at loggerheads. By the time he was eighteen the money men had thrown down the gauntlet to the new King, Charles, determined as they were to wipe out every vestige of the "Merrie England" of the past and to bring down forever the Crown. Already it was clear that the pale, sickly Charles had built an inner bastion of strength around his conviction that the Crown, as the arbiter between the rich and the poor, must be strong. Already it was plain that the money men would stint at nothing to destroy that last barrier to their absolute power, the Monarchy. Already a lawyer named Digges had forecast the future by attacking on the floor of

Parliament, for the first time in history, the person of the King. Finally, by 1627/28, when Thomas went up to London, civil war was in the air. The Third Parliament of Charles' reign had named its price for a truce. This was the Petition of Rights. It meant revolution, and a year later, on March 10, 1629, when Charles had to break down the door in order to dissolve a rebel Parliament, the fuse of civil war was lighted. It would simmer until the first open explosion took place in 1637/38, when Thomas Pell was already at Saybrooke in America with David Lion Gardiner. By then the Scottish "Covenanters" were on the march, the levelers in England were bleating their cacaphony and the new rich in their great houses were openly plotting to reduce the English Monarchy to a puppet play—they to pull the strings.

This was the England of Kings and Courts and Rich Men. But for most of the less than five million souls who constituted the total population of that time, England was the country, with leagues of fine land uninhabited, of scattered villages and scarcely a soul on the road. It was the "sweet country" where the old ways of life persisted, where barter was more frequent than money purchase, where there was much music by viols, trumpets and pipes, and where people still danced. It was a small world of country squires and parsons, of yeomen and cottagers, making their own wares and taking their own pleasures after the manner of their ancestors. It was a world of cheeses and pies of game, and fine ale. Above all it was a world in which the dominant unit was the family—the family out of which a great England sprang. The family was the foremost of all national institutions—greater than King, Church or Parliament. It was the web of manor, farm and cottage, and its skeins wrapped up pre-Civil War England in a lusty whole.

THE PARENTS OF THOMAS PELL

Now, what do we know for certain about the family and parentage of Thomas Pell, who was born into this maelstrom of an England which was breaking with its happy past and where brother was preparing to take up arms against brother? We know that his father, John, was born circa 1584/5, but we do not know where he was born or who his parents were. We know that John was matriculated at Cambridge University, Magdalene College, in 1596/7 and that he

obtained his B.A. degree from Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1598/9. We know that he is mentioned repeatedly in contemporary documents as the scholar of Southwyck and Eastbourne, and in one document as a "schoolmaster of parts." We know of no result of his scholarship, however, or to what he devoted his study. It seems, moreover, that he was a cleric, a "clerc" they called it then, but he is not on record as being the Priest of any Parish.

We know, furthermore, that John had a younger brother, James, and a sister, Elizabeth. James, interestingly enough, was matriculated at Magdalen College, Oxford, as from Lincolnshire, and from this we may assume that both he and John were connected with the Pell family of Dembleby and Water Willoughby, which was one of the most venerable families of Lincolnshire, probably sprung from the Norman Pagnels (Paganelles, Painelles), as the first Pell arms were the same. By the Seventeenth Century, in any event, the Pells of Lincolnshire had cadet offshoots in Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Middlesex (London) and Kent.

We do not know why John, the father of Thomas, came to Southwyck, because Sussex was definitely not a Pell Shire. It may have been to marry, on a date and at a place unknown, his first wife Mary, daughter of Richard Holland of the Kent family of Hollands, who was a close cousin of the Earl of Holland, courtier to Charles I, who shifted to the Parliamentary side. Or John may have been invited to come to Southwyck by his classmate at Cambridge, the Reverend Cornelius Tinsley. At all events he was in Southwyck and Eastbourne at the turn of the Seventeenth Century and remained there until his death on April 14, 1616/17 (will dated September 13, 1615/16 with codicil, probated on July 18, 1616/17, recorded in Archdeaconry of Lewes Wills). His first wife, Mary Holland Pell, who was baptized on December 12, 1596 (See Steyning Bishop's Transcripts) had died previously at Eastbourne in February, 1614/15, and John had remarried. His second wife was Joanne, sister of Richard Gravett of Steyning.

John and Mary Holland Pell had two sons: John, the future mathematician and Oliver Cromwell's Ambassador to the Protestant Swiss Cantons, born at Southwyck in 1610/11, and Thomas, who was baptized in Eastbourne Parish Church on February 28, 1612/13 as "the son of Mr. Pell, Schoolmaster" (See Eastbourne Parish Register for 1606/1616). The boys were orphaned when Mary, first, and then John, their father, died, and were raised and educated by their stepmother Joanne Gravett Pell and John's "Trustees" or Executors,

Pelham Burton and the Reverend Richard Vernon, Rector of Eastbourne.¹

Something, finally, may be deduced with regard to persons in the intimacy of John, Thomas' father, from his will of September 13, 1615/16, with the codicil drawn up just before his death on April 5, 1616/17. The will, in addition to mentioning the widow, Joanne Gravett Pell, the two sons John and Thomas, and the brother James and sister Elizabeth, refers to several good friends.

These were:

1. Lancelot Andrewes, the Bishop of Chichester, who was later to be Bishop of Winchester. Bishop Andrewes lived most of the time at the Bankside, Southwark, London, and was very well regarded by James I and Charles I.
2. The Reverend Richard Vernon, Rector of Eastbourne, who was a London man from Southwark, brother-in-law of Cesar Richards, a prominent and wealthy member of St. Olave's Parish, Southwark.
3. Pelham Burton, the "Overseer" of John's will, who was outstanding among the local gentry near Southwyck and was very highly respected. He owned and built Compton Place, now one of the residences of the Duke of Devonshire, and took a prominent part in Sussex affairs in the early years of the Seventeenth Century. Moreover, as overseer of John's will he became the legal guardian of John's two sons, John and Thomas, and there is reason to believe that Thomas named Pelham in Westchester, New York, after him. Incidentally, Pelham Burton's youngest sister, Susan, married John's brother James on April 12, 1624. Ten days earlier James took out his license to marry Susan at Eastbourne and is referred to as "James Pell of Eastbourne, gent." "Gent," of course, stands for "gentleman," which did not mean in the Seventeenth Century someone who followed a certain mode of behavior as in "nature's gentleman." It stood for a man who was entitled to bear a coat-of-arms and was a member of the gentry. James, at all events, was subsequently Vicar of Willingdon and then of Horsted Keynes, Sussex, and took the High Church side in the quarrel with Parliament. The Reverend James Pell died at Horsted Keynes,

¹ Although Bathsua Pell Makin has been overlooked in Pell family genealogies, she is mentioned in many historical records, both government and private. A comprehensive bibliography has been assembled giving numerous references to her, and her biography will appear in the next *Pelliana*.

Sussex, on August 10, 1655. His successor, the Reverend Giles Moore, entered into his *Journal and Account Book* in the winter of 1656: "Mrs. Pell had the whole year's tythes ending at Lady Day 1656 though her husband *dyed* at the beginning of the harvest."

John's will, incidentally, after making substantial bequests to the widow, Joanne Gravett Pell and the eldest son, John, leaves to Thomas forty pounds, to be given him when he reaches 21 years of age, also four silver spoons "which was given to him at baptism," a "payre of flaxen hooke seamed sheets," a "payre of fine new hempen sheets and my second best featherbed and bolster and two of my second best coverlett and two pillowberes," also "six other best napkins and second best and largest table cloth."

It might be added that the witnesses to the original will were Pelham Burton and the Reverend Richard Vernon, and to the codicil Arthur Pollard and John's brother-in-law Richard Gravett, who is named additional overseer together with his "loving friend," Richard Panton of Steyning.

Others connected with John Pell were the Reverend Cornelius Tinsley of Southwyck, and Sir Anthony and his wife Judith (Brereton) Pell of Dembleby, Lincolnshire. Thomas Pell was later to write Judith, addressing her affectionately as "mother." As a consequence it may be assumed that the relationship of the "Southwyck, Sussex, Pells" with the head of the family in Lincolnshire was very close.

As a postscript it should be said that photostatic reproductions of all the entries and documents referred to hereinabove are on file with The Pell Family Association, Inc.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

Pelham Burton, the "overseer" of John's will, took in the boys and their widowed stepmother, made them a home at Compton Place and directed their education, which began early in those days. Life was too uncertain to prolong childhood. The sooner boys stood on their own feet and girls were safely married, the better it was. Almost as babies, boys and girls began to study the alphabet from the horn book—a printed page pasted on a small wooden bat, covered with transparent talc and framed in horn, which was attached to the child's neck by a ribbon from the hand. Catechisms followed, and "spiritual wrestling." Then came the Latin "classics," which boys approached

armed with goose quill, slate and inkhorn. Probably John and Thomas had to master the formidable grammar of the time, lusciously entitled: "A Delicious Syrup Newly Clarified For Young Scholars That Thirst For the Sweet Liquor of Latin Speech." In a word, the mind was hardened early by intellectual discipline which, like nothing else, a classical education was believed to give. Classical thought permeated the culture of the English governing class at that time, and it was essential for a child to conjugate the verbs and recite the entire vocabulary of Latin primitives.

Pelham Burton's next move in the education of his wards was to send them to the Free School at Steyning, the local "Latin School," where future squires, the sons of the educated minority and brighter village lads shared the same benches. There was no segregation of the ruling class from the rest of the nation in the Seventeenth Century. There, at Steyning, under the lash of a formidable headmaster, Caesar's *Commentaries*, Virgil, Plutarch, and all the rest, were beaten into the boys, and above all they learned to get along with their fellows. The system was rough, and the aim was to "read" for Oxford or Cambridge.

It was at Cambridge that Thomas finally was matriculated. There were under two thousand scholars in residence when Thomas went up to Magdalene College. By that time the College was fully established and was based on the local county divisions. The Dons were apt to be friends of the new scholar's father or patron, and spoke the "language" of his shire. Boys went to the University between the ages of twelve and sixteen (Thomas was thirteen) and once more the instruction they received was mainly "classical" though at Cambridge mathematics and the "sciences," including medicine, played an increasingly important part. Grammar and rhetoric were compulsory, also the study of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*. Moral philosophy, Greek and geometry were studied in the third year. Finally, in the fourth year, came astronomy, anatomy, metaphysics, natural philosophy, ancient history, Hebrew and Greek. Then as now the greater part of the work was tutorial and founded on private reading. Most important were the *Disputations*, formal exercises in logic, which took the place of examinations.

Life at Cambridge was spartan. The undergraduate's day began at dawn. Chapel came at six. This was followed by a breakfast consisting of a crust and ale. Then to work. There was no distinction in Thomas' time between poor scholars and the rich. The introduction

of the caste system came with the Restoration. At all events a Bachelor or a Master left Cambridge after four years with his mind disciplined and orderly and armed with a rich store of the accumulated knowledge of his day. He was cultured, the sort of man who took his part in the learning of his time, his libraries bound in russet and gold, a real aristocrat in that he possessed an instinctive preference for the best.

LONDON, 1628

Most graduates of Cambridge, excluding the nobles who returned to their lands or the new rich who flocked to the factories and counting houses, made their way to London. Thomas Pell, at fifteen, was no exception. To London he went, armed, probably, with letters from Pelham Burton and Sir Anthony Pell and welcomed by Bishop Andrewes. In order to eat and live, Lord Holland, his mother's cousin, arranged for him to have a minor sinecure at the Court of Charles I as a Groom-in-Waiting, that is, as a page.

Around the London which Thomas entered diffidently in 1627/28 there were still walls thirty-five feet in height and bastions and gates such as King Hal had ridden through as he went out to Agincourt. But the suburbs were spreading, and the whole housed about one-tenth of the people of England. It stretched from Westminster to All Hallows, Barking, and from Shoreditch to St. George's Fields. St. Giles-in-the-Fields, a Church with which the two Pell brothers, John and Thomas, were to be associated, was still really in the fields, and Southwark, where Bishop Andrewes lived, was bordered by marshy dikes. But London was growing alarmingly, the contemporaries said, and it had become difficult to know exactly when one entered it except for the ancient formula: "So soon as the coach was got upon the stones." For it was then that the rattle began, and the howling of hawkers and the swearing and shouting of drovers and hackneys, or at night the watchman's cry of "Past one of the clock and a cold frosty windy morning!"

Rivaling the noises of London were the smells. Rivers of filth coursed down the centers of the streets and throughout the city were graveyards, piled high above the surrounding territory, with half closed graves. Even the most cultured were wholly innocent of any sanitary sense, and the street was the meeting place of all kinds of ordures. Public conveniences there were none, and private conveniences were virtually unknown. Disease was widely prevalent: small

pox and "fevers" and, more periodically, bubonic plague, haunted London. Sign of the times, moreover, the rich were hedging the city with their factories, and palls of smoke descended on it from the furnaces of the brewers, the soap boilers and dyers, who thus marked "progress" in their time.

The reverse of the picture was the color and pomp of the Court at Whitehall, which all could gape at, and a King who still believed that he was a Majesty. These were the visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace which still survived, whose background was the medieval city which Chaucer had seen in his youth and in which Shakespeare had lived and loved and worked. The houses were framed in oak, with walls of lath and plaster, and their overhanging stories were painted and heavily carved. The buildings were low and were occupied generally by one family, except where the poor huddled in hovels in the suburbs or the rich had their palaces along the southern side of the Strand. Finally, rising above the houses alike of the rich and the poor, were the Churches, with the skyline pierced by over a hundred spires, and the nave and tower of St. Paul's dominating all. After St. Peter's in Rome, the Gothic St. Paul's was the greatest Church in Christendom.

By contrast, places of "liquid refreshment" were countless. In these, men of all classes congregated to drink and talk. The ale house was every man's club, and in 1628 other kinds of club were unknown. At night, the streets were lit—or some of them—by lanterns placed at regular intervals and, more spasmodically, by the uncertain efforts of householders, who were expected to expose their lights to the streets. More certain were the link boys who waited at every corner to light travelers home. Grander citizens provided their own street lighting with a wench going before them carrying a lantern.

The Tower was the chief landmark of London. Otherwise the London of Thomas' time was not rich in public buildings. There were the Guildhall, the Customs House and the Old Bailey. There were the seven crumbling gates, and just outside London's walls was the Temple. Other sights were Westminster Hall, the Court at Whitehall, the tombs and effigies in the Abbey and the lunatics at Bedlam. There were also the wooden figures that struck the quarters on St. Dunstan's Church, the bearded woman at Holborn, the Lord Mayor's Show and the September saturnalia of St. Bartholomew's Fair.

Above all there was the River and the Bridge—London's pride. For the eight miles of London the river bordered the houses which

came down to the waterside. The winding river was the Londoner's highway and the restless background of his every day life. In practice it was ruled by a corporation of jolly, swearing Wapping watermen whose ribaldry was proverbial. The King, who called the watermen his nursery of seamen, supported the corporation, and their cry of "next oars" threaded through the life of London. Their boats were of two kinds—sculls with one rower and the faster "oars" with two, in which it was possible to travel from one end of London to Westminster in a quarter of an hour.

London Bridge was the wonder of Britain in the Seventeenth Century. Guarded by piles, it stood on eighteen arches and was crowned by a double row of shops and houses, six stories high. Between the arches roared and foamed the cataracts, and one was apt to get "soundly washed" shooting the rapids of the Bridge. But there were compensations such as the gilded barges of the King to see and the gorgeous liverymen of the nobility. Moreover, on moonlight nights the river took on a peculiar enchantment, with the wistful music of the age and the sparkling lanterns.

In a word it was a London, despite its medieval tinge of filth and death, in which one could listen to the nightingale and other birds and hear "fiddles here and there, a harp, and hard laughing and these fine people walking."

But there was something of doom in the London of 1628/29. John Calvin's horrible masterpiece, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which taught that Our Heavenly Father has bound mankind by predestination to eternal torment, was taking hold of some men. Calvin (Jean Cauvin) was a fanatic who consistently hated human happiness, and while Martin Luther had already opted for predestination, it took Calvin to stretch predestination into determinism. An old woman of the times put it rightly when she commented that as far as she could see, Calvin meant: "We'll be damned if we do and we'll be damned if we don't." For him the smallest act had been decreed from all eternity. There was hope only for the "Chosen" in this world of total depravity, and from this belief there was only a step to the Puritan and Manichean conclusion that all human pleasures are sinful. "Gay" was a term of reproach. "Beauty" was a sacrilege.

Soon the Puritans, condemning everyone and most things but certain that they were the "Chosen," were threading their way through the life of London, notably in the Inns of Court, because the lawyers

were their most ardent spokesmen after the preachers. They saw themselves as leaders of an iron race, chosen of God and destined to trample upon His enemies, who were also theirs. The shopkeepers flocked to the Calvinist banner too, because the *Sieur Cauvin* taught that usury was virtuous and that the rich were more apt to be among the "Chosen" than the poor. Thus, where *St. Francis* had rushed to embrace holy poverty, Calvin listed it as one of the principal chastisements of his sadistic god. This was music to the rising class of the rich men and, keeping still in the background, they were quietly encouraging the "Saints." Already the Court and society and men of all ranks were split, and the shadow of *Cromwell* and the Roundheads was not far over the horizon.

In this atmosphere Thomas, with one foot at the Court and the other in town, must have been obliged to make a decision, because a neutral attitude in the great debate of the age was coming to be excluded. Based on later evidence, it is clear that Thomas early took the King's side; that is he opted for the joy of living which was part of the fabric of the "Merrie England" of the past. This must have made his life difficult in the London of 1627/28. At some point he decided to go abroad and join the company of young Englishmen who were learning the art of warfare in Holland with *Prince Frederick Henry of Orange*, for we next meet Thomas as a "Cadet" in *Vere's Corps*.

Family tradition has it that Thomas was over assiduous in his courting of one of the French Ladies-in-Waiting to *Queen Henrietta Maria*. But it would be perfectly normal for a Groom-in-Waiting to court a Lady-in-Waiting, so let us put down Thomas' abrupt departure for the armies to a broken heart and unrequited love—that and the ubiquitous Puritans.

II

THOMAS PELL

*Ensign and Lieutenant
With Sir Horace Vere's Corps
in the Netherlands*

In the years 1629/30–1634/35, which were critical in England, a successful phase of the Thirty Years War was enacted in the Netherlands. Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, struck repeatedly at the Spaniards in what today is Belgium. English gentlemen under the command of Sir Horace Vere flocked to the Prince's colors as volunteers. They took part in the resolute effort to capture Bois-le-Duc in 1629/30 and Maastricht two years later. They participated in many other sieges and campaigns, and it can truly be said that the small group of military men who helped to found the American Colonies of New England were indebted for their military efficiency to the training supplied by the warfare in the Low Countries. Among them were the future Captain John Underhill, the Engineer Captain David Lion Gardiner and Lieutenant Surgeon Thomas Pell.

The Lowlands campaign was a marginal chapter in the Thirty Years War which flamed into the passion-charged religious slaughter that it became with the revolt in Bohemia in 1618-1620, and its ruthless suppression, the spread of the war to Germany from 1621-1631 and the Protestant crusade of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden from 1631 to 1635. On the sidelines, so to speak, was the drive of the Protestant Dutch Provinces against the Spanish Catholic overlords in the delta between the Meuse and the Rhine. The Dutch Federated Prov-

inces were captained by Frederick Henry, half brother of Maurice of Nassau, who united the Netherlands under the House of Orange before his death in 1625. Frederick Henry was the son of William the Taciturn and Louise de Coligny, daughter of the Huguenot leader, Admiral de Coligny, and from his French mother he inherited irresistible charm. He held the titles of Captain, Admiral-general and Stadholder of the Netherlands, and held court at The Hague where young Protestant nobles and gentlemen from England and other northern countries were welcomed. There, while learning the military craft, they absorbed something of western civilization in the cultivated company of the Prince, who was a patron of the arts and an emancipator of the sciences. At his court, learning, literature and painting reached a height of dazzling brilliance. They may have absorbed, likewise, something of statesmanship, because the Prince had a sagacity in this field which classified him among the greatest, and incidentally the most prudent, statesman of his age.

Prince Frederick Henry, who learned the military art from his brother, Maurice of Nassau, was an outstanding military genius as well. He gathered and trained a first rate army, bolstered by French Huguenot, Scottish and English Corps consisting of fifteen Regiments from France, and three Scottish and four English Regiments. In actual fact an English Corps, pretty much the monopoly of the Veres, the Earls of Oxford, had been in service in the Netherlands since 1585 and formed the elite of the force. Originally generalled by the Earl of Leicester, it quickly passed into the hands of the Veres, first of all Sir Francis Vere, grandson of the 15th Earl of Oxford, then Sir Horace Vere in 1608 and his brothers, Sir Edward and Sir Robert. The English troops were in the Dutch service. But it was agreed between the English and Dutch courts that the English soldiers would wear distinctive English uniforms, carry English colors, have their own national march and their own "beat of the drum." They were required, during their term of service, to take an oath of allegiance to the Dutch States General, and their number was fixed at 4,000. It might be added that during all the fighting of this period the brunt of battle fell on the English troops and their losses were heavy. Colonel after colonel in the Corps—there were four at a time—was killed; Sir Edward Vere in the capture of Bois-le-Duc ('s Hertogenbosch) in 1629/30, for instance, and at Maastricht in 1632/33 Colonels Sir Edward Harwood and Sir Robert Vere, 19th Earl of Oxford. In a word, the English Corps numbered in its ranks some of the best blood and

most adventurous spirits to be found in Britain. The English volunteers were always in the forefront of attack.

At all events, in the spring of 1629/30, it was "the thing" for young men of Charles I's court to volunteer for service in the Netherlands. They rivalled one another for commissions, and among the fortunate were Thomas Pell and Thomas Fairfax, contemporaries at Cambridge and in service together at Whitehall; in fact, born in the same year.

At this time Frederick Henry, with an army of 30,000 men, was standing before Bois-le-Duc, a heavily fortified position which commanded the access to the Spanish Netherlands. As usual the English Corps under Sir Horace Vere was in the van of the siege and had the specific task of investing two of the key bastions, St. Isabella and St. Anthony, fortresses in themselves. The young volunteers out of London like Thomas Pell were sent directly to the front, and Ensign Thomas Fairfax wrote to his grandfather, the famous Parliamentarian of the same name, on May 12th, in words which might have been Thomas Pell's, as follows:

Sir:

Having but little time to write, by reason of our going into the field so soon, I could not write as often as your lordship looks I should do, but it shall be my care not to let pass any opportunity wherein I may show my duty. Sir, we are now before Busse, a town of great strength; all the one side is marsh ground, which makes it very strong. We have entrenched ourselves with a running trench about the town, the Prince on the one side and Graave Ernest on the other, and have raised seven batteries; there are three schooners belonging to the town which we must take before we can do any good; and we are making mills to draw the water before we can approach the town. They made many shots with their cannon at our first approach, but afterwards we had no shot for four or five days. Then came some cannoneers out of the town and said that their governor had sent their ammunition to Breda, thinking that we should have gone thither, and they have great want of corn, so that we think we shall not be long about it. We hear that Van Gravendunke, the governor of the town, hath poisoned himself because that he thought he should not hold out any longer. Count Henericke of the Barke has drawn his forces together; it is thought he will besiege the Graave. We look for the King and Queen of Bohemia this leaguer. Thus with my duty I rest.

Your lordship's obedient grandchild, T. Fairfax..

In fact, Bois-le-Duc put up a stubborn defense from May to September, when it surrendered. This was many months after the date of the letter written by Ensign Thomas Fairfax who, incidentally, married the Lady Anne, daughter of Sir Horace Vere. Ranking with Brussels, Antwerp and Louvain as one of the four chief towns of Spanish Brabant, Bois-le-Duc had a garrison of some 5,000 armed citizens and an equal number of regular troops. Moreover, situated as it was between two rivers, the Dommel and Aa, surrounded by swamps and defended by fortified outerworks of all sorts, the town was exceptionally strong. On the north the Dutch besiegers used the River Maas as their base line. On the northwest, where the English were situated, the fighting had to be done on open moorland, exposed to attack day and night by the Spanish forces. Moreover the Spanish-Brabant General Comte van den Bergh soon appeared. But, reinforced by Austrian Imperial forces under Montcuculi, he veered off to create a diversion in an attack on the Dutch fortified places on the River Ysel. Prince Frederick Henry refused to be drawn from the siege of Bois-le-Duc, however. He put his Engineers to work, including David Lion Gardiner, to surround the town with a double line of circumvallation, and threw around the marshes two immense dykes with high parapets on either side—the whole completed in the amazingly short time of three weeks. Then the English and French Corps were hurled to the assault, company relieving company unceasingly, the English and French soldiers vying with one another in deeds of glory. Finally, left to his own devices, Count Grobendonc surrendered the town and castle on September 14th.

At this writing we have no record of Thomas Pell's role in the siege and capture of Bois-le-Duc. We know from the Buccleuch Papers that he left London in the early spring of 1629/30 with a letter from Lord Holland introducing his "cozen" to Sir Ralph Winwood, the English Ambassador to The Hague. We know that he was commissioned an Ensign in Sir Horace Vere's Corps at that time. We know that all the English volunteers arriving in Holland were rushed immediately to the front at Bois-le-Duc. Looking ahead, we know that Thomas signed a deed in The Hague two years later as Adelborst, or Ensign, and that some time in the third year after the siege of Maastricht he was promoted to Lieutenant. Finally, we know that in 1634/35 he enlisted for service in America at Fort Saybrooke as Lieutenant and Surgeon. These are the hard facts. The rest is surmise. But it is not too difficult to reconstruct the thought processes of a young man

caught in the tentacles of religious and civil unrest in the England of 1629/30 when Thomas decided to go to the front in the Lowlands.

It was a time in England when ancient institutions were crashing. Church and Crown were falling, if they had not fallen yet. The dream fabric of something divine in Monarchy was rent already. The Church was torn from its foundations. It was a time of transition—always an uncomfortable time. The old securities were challenged on every side. It was a time of disintegration, when things were dissolving into perplexing dissidences. The analysts were scratching at the old idols with their realism. The atomizers were crumbling them altogether. There was disillusion and doubt on the one hand. There was a passionate rebirth of belief and a fanatical renewal of faith on the other. The Age of Reason was just around the corner. Beyond, in the mists, the Age of Bleak Materialism might be distinguished. The Age of Faith was sputtering to a close and making a last effort to survive a little before yielding altogether. Strange idealisms ran riot. Queer perversions were battled over as some men dreamed of a commonwealth on earth where the Scriptures were “really and materially to be fulfilled” and others, like Milton, regained Paradise within their own souls.

For a man like Thomas Pell, as we shall come to know him through the many windows opened on his character in America, this yeast of change working on every hand in London must have seemed unappetizing. As a young man given to science he must have resented bigotry. As a young man turning to reason he must have rejected the Puritan taboos. As a loyal man he must have had little patience for the substitution of government by debate for government of authority. It must have been painful for him to suffer the raucous cacophony of a London in revolutionary ferment, loving order as he did. It must have been shocking to him to see about him on all sides in London the long faces of the “Saints.” Loving “good cheer” as he did, as he was to testify later in New Haven, London fissuring into civil war was not a comfortable place for a young man to be. The protagonists of the new Calvinism were the craftsmen, traders, and above all the attorneys who pullulated in London, and they set out to be their brother’s keeper. Karl Marx, an intellectual grandchild of Calvin, has put it clearly: “The bourgeois, when they got the upper hand, put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations, pitilessly tore asunder the feudal ties that bound man to his natural superior and left remaining between man and man, no other bond

than naked self interest and callous cash payment." And London was falling into the hands of the bourgeois fanatics for all time, leaving little place for a man of Thomas Pell's background, intellect and loyalties. But it was not as though he had somewhere else to go. Probably he was welcome enough at his stepmother's house or at Compton Place in Sussex. But Pelham Burton was a guardian, not a father, and Thomas was not brought up with other County ties. Once he had made up his mind to leave London to its social dislocation and brooding restlessness, the "wars" was a normal place for a young man to turn. And this, in 1629/30, meant General Sir Horace Vere's volunteers in the Netherlands.

Next, from 1629/30 to 1632/33 Thomas Pell, like the other British volunteers and troops, was occupied with the business of war. There were marches and counter marches, encampments and sieges, all the tawdry trappings of campaigning in those times and the sordid aftermath of men ill and men wounded and men dying. In 1631/32 Prince Frederick Henry led his army into the region of the Maas. Venlo and Roermond surrendered without firing a shot. This enabled the Prince to appear before the fortress of Maastricht with 21,000 troops, including the French, Scottish and English Corps once more, by June 10. However, the garrison remained loyal to the Spaniards. Frederick Henry was forced to undertake a regular siege, with entrenched lines of circumvallation connected above and below the town and the river Meuse with bridges and connected at all critical points by principal redoubts. Moreover, there was heavy loss of life, especially in the British Corps. Then, when a Spanish and Imperialist army under Don Gonzales de Cordoba and General von Pappenheim advanced to the relief of the town, the position of the besiegers, so far from their base, became critical. The Prince held on both fronts none the less. The Austro-Spaniards were beaten off with a loss of 1500 men in Prince Frederick Henry's army, with losses being heaviest in the English Corps. In a display of masterly skill, Prince Frederick Henry pressed the siege. On August 22, Maastricht surrendered. All Europe sang the praises of Prince Frederick Henry. His fame, and that of his officers and men, bade fair to rival that of the dashing Gustavus Adolphus and his Swedes.

We have no record of Thomas Pell's action during the siege of Maastricht. But the fact that he was promoted to Lieutenant shortly thereafter would indicate that he acquitted himself with honor.

After Maastricht the Dutch and English settled down to the lull of a humdrum semitruce. Many of the English officers went home or took long leave. Evidently Thomas Pell did neither. Instead he applied himself to qualify as a chirurgion, or surgeon, which did not require much preparation or knowledge in the first decades of the Seventeenth Century. All we know is that in the years between the termination of the siege of Maastricht in August 1632/33 and his enlistment with Captain David Lion Gardiner at Saybrooke, Thomas Pell learned the rudiments of medical science, or chirurgy, as it was called then. Moreover we know that when Lieutenant Gardiner, the military engineer, drafted his force for service at Saybrooke, Thomas Pell was able to qualify as a Military Surgeon. Where did he learn his medicine? One thing is certain: his name is not included in the listings of the Worshipful Company of Barber Surgeons at the Guild Hall in London for 1525-1662. It must be concluded, therefore, that he learned what there was to learn about medicine while he was in Holland with the Army. Of course Cambridge, which Thomas attended, was the "scientific University" then as now. At Cambridge he perforce studied anatomy, and he may have mastered the rudiments of medieval medical history which survived beyond that day, notably that the movements of the stars governed the diseases of the body; that certain days were good for "bleeding," which was the universal remedy, and other days were not; that the body was composed of liquids or "humors," and that the proper function of the physician was to prescribe the balance between blood and choler on the one hand and on the other phlegm and melancholy. Cuppings and bleedings were applied to every form of disease, and a bleeding in the arm might be prescribed to recover the hearing in the ear. Surgery, in which Thomas as a military doctor was obliged to specialize, was much more "modern." But it had to be practiced of course without the benefit of anesthetic and in ignorance of the nature of septic poisoning. Men were called upon to suffer prodigies of pain. A majority died under the shock of an operation. The wonder is how many lived! Gangrene was frequent and the cause of it unknown. But despite all this, the surgeons operated with considerable skill and were well versed in the fundamentals which govern their modern counterparts. Military chirurgions were probably the rudest of the lot. The qualifications for appointment were few. There was no such thing as a "Medical Corps" in the English Army of 1634/35. Like the

engineers, such as Gardiner himself, they were drawn from the ranks, probably arising initially from some emergency, or just because the candidate had a smattering of knowledge.

When he was not studying medicine Thomas Pell very probably spent time at that common meeting place of the British volunteers who held commissions under the Prince of Orange: Lady Mary Vere's house in The Hague. Lady Mary was not only hostess to the officers when they came back from her husband's Corps in the field for a period of rest. She was very active in trying to propagate the new Puritan faith among them. She was in constant correspondence with the Reverend John Davenport of the Massachusetts Company who was destined to found New Haven Colony, and a close friend of the Reverend Hugh Peters, who was to go to Saybrooke, become a regicide and end his career hanged, drawn and quartered, at the Restoration. She certainly had a hand in the selection of John Underhill to go as Captain to Boston. She certainly brought together David Lion Gardiner and John Davenport when the latter was looking for an Engineer to build the fort at Saybrooke at the mouth of the Connecticut River. It is credible that she recommended Thomas Pell as surgeon.

At all events, quite aside from Lady Mary's interest, the officers serving in the Netherlands were very much in demand. Their schooling under Frederick Henry was the best that time could offer. His military genius was hardly inferior to that of his brother Maurice of Nassau, and the Englishmen who served under him were to officer the armies of the English Civil War or to win fame in the campaigns of the Continent. Offers came to them from many sides. Thus it is normal to find the Council for Virginia addressing them to advance the "worthy enterprise of planting Colonies of our Nation in the fruitful and rich colony of Virginia." (Mss. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, I:103, 122.) Massachusetts also beckoned to soldiers to command the defenses of the Puritan Commonwealth, and the military were required to build and man the proposed fort at Saybrooke. Moreover, John Winthrop was definitely thinking in military terms (see Winthrop, Robert C., *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, I:316) and training 500 men to man the fortifications at Boston. In short, the records of the time are replete with entries relating to martial preparations, both in England and the Colonies. The most fecund reservoir of officers and men was the Netherlands.

Furthermore, in 1634/35, when Thomas Pell decided to go to

America, England, especially for a young man who had no landed estates or other property, was hardly palatable. Already men were preparing to take up arms to coerce other men to accept their views. Material success had come to be the measuring rod of spiritual health. "God's poor" were now the "children of sin." Schisms were opening within schisms. Each divergence claimed that it was the only truth and admitted no compromise. Reason, for which Thomas Pell, the scientific man, hungered, was increasingly obscured. Passions everywhere were quickening. Iconoclasts were striking at Church and Throne. The right of private judgment was being carried to extremes. This was no place for a moderate man, as Thomas Pell was later to prove himself to be. Tolerance had become a deadly sin. There was a mood of tense expectation which spelled the certainty of revolution. It was clear that the battle would be joined soon. Stark absolutism permitted of no other course. It was coming to be King or Parliament. Reasonable men who favored an equilibrium no longer had any place to go. Dogma was so tangled that there was no escape from it except by violence. The moderate man had only one choice: He might select the side which repelled him the least.

England in this dark valley of decision was not an appealing place for a young man who gave any thought to the future. There must be an escape. Opportunity was beckoning beyond the seas. Virginia and Massachusetts were new lands of promise. Perhaps there might be a place for a surgeon there.

Just when Thomas Pell's thoughts doubtless were turning to the prospects overseas, Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay Colony, who had been much preoccupied with the fortification of Boston and the readying of its defenses against outside attack, including attack by the King, decided to send a Committee to England to discuss these and other matters. John Winthrop Jr., the Governor's gifted son, was the political member of the Commission. The Reverend John Wilson, Minister of the First Church in Boston, was the religious member. Captain John Underhill was the military member. On November 6, 1634/35, Governor Winthrop wrote to his son, who had already sailed for England: "I intend to send this letter by Capt. Underhill who hath leave to see his friends in Holland." (Winthrop's Journal, James Savage's annotated edition, 1:462/3.) Underhill's task was to strengthen the military resources of Massachusetts Bay Colony, both with officers and men, and guns and supplies. It was logical that he should visit Holland to recruit men before proceeding to London

to tackle supplies. Doubtless he was badgered at The Hague with requests for information about the New World, which he could describe at first hand. It is not asking too much to imagine that Thomas Pell was among those who questioned him.

Among the others with whom Captain Underhill conferred at The Hague were the Reverend John Davenport and Captain David Lion Gardiner, the Engineer. Davenport had been commissioned a short time previously by the Proprietors of Saybrooke Colony at the mouth of the Connecticut River, especially the Puritan Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brooke; also Thomas Pell's mother's cousin and his patron, Lord Holland, to find an engineer to supervise the construction of a Fort at that place and to pick with him the officers and men of a garrison which would be stationed there. Underhill's suggestion seconded Lady Vere's choice of Gardiner to Davenport, it appears. Gardiner named the men who would accompany him, notably Thomas Pell as Surgeon with, possibly, a word from Lord Holland to influence the choice.

When and from what port Thomas Pell sailed for America and by which vessel he made the voyage, is a mystery at this writing which may never be solved. Certainly he was not the Thomas Pell who went to Boston with his wife and infant daughter on the *Speedwell* about this time. The *Speedwell* Thomas remained in Boston, where his daughter married, and the facts as we have them with regard to him correspond in no particular to the history of Chirurgeon Thomas Pell.

The most likely theory is that Thomas and other military men who went to Saybrooke Fort crossed the ocean with the younger John Winthrop when he returned to Boston, landing on October 8, 1635/6 from his secret mission to England. Already by this time difficulties were being created for persons who wished to proceed to New England. Rumors were rife that the King's party had plans to chastise the Massachusetts men who were reported to be in open rebellion against the Crown. Underhill, through Robert Keayne and Robert Houghton in London, had dealings with armorers and other purveyors of military goods. And in July a formidable shipment of military supplies ordered by him reached Boston. Winthrop and Underhill were less successful when it came to recruiting men. But some soldiers, unnamed of course, came out with both Underhill and Winthrop when they returned in separate ships about the same time that David Lion Gardiner sailed in the *Batchelor*. It is a tenable

theory that Thomas Pell was with either Underhill or Winthrop, more probably the latter, and that he landed in Boston in the late fall of 1635/36. He was definitely not with Captain Gardiner, whose ship's company is on record.

On the assumption that Thomas Pell came out with John Winthrop Jr. or Captain Underhill, he must have spent the winter 1636/37 in Boston, although there is no record of his presence there. Captain Underhill was busy during these winter months whipping the military force of Massachusetts Bay Colony into shape. Captain Gardiner, meanwhile, was occupied with the fortification of Fort Hill, situated at the easterly part of the town on a promontory protected on its northerly and easterly sides by rugged bluffs.

All males of the community were held liable to bear arms and undergo a stipulated period of training. Underhill saw to it that they knew how to use their muskets effectively, and were strictly drilled on every first Thursday in every month. Meanwhile the Boston Magistrates availed themselves of the technical knowledge of "the Engineer, Mr. Lion Gardiner, who doth so freely offer his help thereunto and hath but a short time of stay." The expert services of a man who had mastered his art on the fortifications of the Prince of Orange were too valuable not to be exploited to the utmost. Gardiner visited Salem too in his professional capacity and concluded that "Nature has done more than half the work already." It is certain that Thomas Pell, who had seen a lot of fighting in the Lowlands, was by Gardiner's side, as he was destined to be in the dramatic years immediately ahead at Fort Saybrooke at the mouth of the Connecticut.

III

THOMAS PELL

*Reports at Fort Saybrooke
By the Connecticut River*

Thomas Pell's next appearance in recorded history, in any event, is as Lieutenant Surgeon with Captain David Lion Gardiner at Fort Saybrooke in the spring of 1635/36. As we indicated in the preceding section, Thomas Pell and the other men of the garrison at Saybrooke came to America, in all probability, with the younger Winthrop and the Reverend John Wilson who reached Boston in the *Abigail* on October 6, 1634/35. There was a group of unidentified men aboard their vessel, and this may have been the garrison for Saybrooke, which it was thought wiser not to mention too openly.

Captain Gardiner, as has been noted, spent the winter in Boston. As soon as the weather permitted—it was March, 1635/36—he continued in the *Batchelor*, taking the men of his garrison with him this time, to the mouth of the Connecticut. There, work on Fort Saybrooke was immediately undertaken, and Surgeon Pell is mentioned as among the members of the original garrison. (Massachusetts Historical Society Coll. 3rd Series, III:138, and VI:157.)

This Fort Saybrooke lay in what was called the Earl of Warwick's patent to lands around the Connecticut valley. It was Sir Richard Saltonstall who first drew the attention of the Earl, who was President of the Council of Plymouth, to that rich and fertile region, and on March 19, 1631/32, Lord Warwick obtained from Charles I the title to the territory forming the lower part of the valley, which was also claimed by the Dutch. Subsequently Lord Warwick issued a

patent to it to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and others, and on July 7, 1635, the Proprietors named John Winthrop the younger as Governor. Moreover, on July 18 they commissioned Winthrop to erect a Fort at the mouth of the Connecticut.

Before leaving for England in 1634/35, Winthrop had visited the site of the future Fort Saybrooke, and upon his return to Boston he despatched Lieutenant Gibbon and Sergeant Willard to claim the territory in the names of Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, and to it give the name of Saybrooke. This exploring party found the arms of the Dutch States General nailed to a tree, and Willard tore it down. In fact the Dutch were near at hand on the site of the present Hartford, and shortly after Gibbon's arrival a Dutch ship sailed up and disputed the Englishman's right to be there.

It had long been evident, in any event, that a Fort would have to be erected at Saybrooke to defend the new Colony, and it was for this reason that the Patentees authorized the Reverend John Davenport to contract the services of Gardiner. Davenport had signed on Gardiner, who had won a reputation as a top flight engineer in the Dutch campaigns, authorizing him to take charge of the "drawing, ordering and making of a city, towns or forts of defence" at Saybrooke and to select from the armies a small company of men-at-arms whose voyage to America would be paid. Gardiner in fact signed on John Higginson, Chaplain; Thomas Pell, Surgeon; Robert Chapman, Thomas Hurlburt, Thomas Ramble, Arthur Branch, John Spencer, John Green and John Bagley.

These men were all with Gardiner when he reached Saybrooke in March, 1635/36 and they began immediately, under the Engineer's direction, to lay out a broad expanse overlooking the sea, lying at the juncture of the Western Neck and the Point. Next they began to build a fort of logs filled in with earth, and houses to lodge settlers around it. They also built a house, which stood half a mile from the Neck, which they called the "Great Hall," and a warehouse. They surrounded with palisades a stretch of land where they could grow vegetables and Indian corn.

In June, George Fenwick, the only Patentee ever to visit America, inspected the work with the Reverend Hugh Peters, John Oldham and Thomas Stanton, an Indian interpreter. He declared himself satisfied. Shortly thereafter the Reverend Hugh joined the Colony, bringing several settlers. This brought the number of the company at the Fort to "twenty-four in all, men, women, boys and girls."

It was not long after Mr. Peters' arrival that the threat of Indian attack became pronounced. For some time it had become apparent that, with two mutually incompatible ways of life confronting each other, an explosion was inevitable. Day by day, the Indians were increasingly resentful of the English, who were pouring into the Connecticut valley and ousting them from their planting and hunting grounds. Meanwhile the English had just about abandoned their idea that they might convert the Indians and bring them into conformity with their way of life. The Puritan English had no illusion that these "red devils" would ever belong to the "Chosen People" which they conceived themselves to be. Their effort to impose English laws and justice, English concepts of "civilization" and English liquor on the Indians was by this time proven to be fruitless. The alternative in the English thinking was to exterminate them, although, not too strange to say, the Indians did not propose to be exterminated without a fight. This was especially true of the Pequots, a particularly savage tribe which had seized the territory lying below that of the Narragansetts and above that of the Indian tribes under Dutch sovereignty in New Netherlands.

Lion Gardiner
1636



Fac-simile of a Seal affixed to a Letter, dated Saybrooke, Nov. 6, 1636, to John Winthrop, Jr., from Lion Gardiner, for which Captain Gardiner used Surgeon Pell's ring.

PELL FAMILY CREST: *On a chaplet vert. flowered, or a Pelican of the last, vulned gu.*

This was the situation in the autumn of 1636/37 as Gardiner and his men finished Saybrooke Fort and the Captain signed and sealed his first official document on November 6, 1636/37 with Surgeon

Pell's seal ring with the pelican in piety. The English, with wave after wave of colonization beating on the Connecticut valley and beyond, were in a mood where they believed that the Indians were fit only to be pushed aside or domesticated so that their land could be occupied and made productive for the "Chosen People" for whom it had been destined by God. The Indians, although loosely organized in shifting alliances and very primitive, were determined to resist. Furthermore, as notice of their intentions, they had murdered, in 1634/35, a Captain John Stone of Virginia aboard his ship in the Connecticut river. Then, in the late autumn of 1635/36, their manner of declaring war was a blow at Saybrooke. They ambushed the men and boys who were working in the cornfields and inflicted some wounds, but no deaths. Surgeon Pell attended to the wounded on that occasion and was commended by Lion Gardiner for his skill. His mission as one of the earliest medical men in America had begun.

§ IV §

THOMAS PELL

Surgeon in the Pequot War

The attack by the Pequots on Fort Saybrooke as autumn was passing into winter in 1636/37 rang the tocsin throughout New England. The English policy was to take the offensive against the Pequots and hold the Mohicans and Narragansetts in their alliance. The Pequots' strategy seems to have been to strike simultaneously at as many points as they could. The diplomatic background was a protracted negotiation between the Indians and the English, beginning after Captain Stone's murder in 1634/35 and terminating abruptly with the Pequot attack on Fort Saybrooke in 1635/36. This negotiation opened with an embassy of the Pequots in Boston, after pressure on them by Canonicus, Chief of the Narragansetts, during which they agreed to give up for punishment the murderers of Stone. Two years then elapsed without further word from the Pequots, and at long last the younger Winthrop was instructed by Boston to make a formal demand on them for redress of the Stone murder and other grievances, under threat of war in case of noncompliance. Winthrop held a conference with the Pequot chieftains, at which the Narragansetts were also present, and the Indians renewed their promises. However, hardly had Winthrop fulfilled his mission when John Oldham, while on a trading mission on Narragansett Bay, was set upon, his vessel boarded off Block, or Fisher's, Island, and he was slain. Winthrop made energetic remonstrances to Canonicus, because the killers were believed to be Narragansetts, and demands for the punishment of the guilty Chiefs. In reply, Canonicus denied all responsibility and said that the guilty Indians were those who had a fort on Block Island.

Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts at once organized an expedition against Block Island consisting of ninety men, commanded by Captain John Endicott, who was designated by Winthrop's successor as Governor, Henry Vane. Endicott was instructed to extirpate utterly the Indians on the island and then to proceed to the mainland and enforce redress for the murder of Stone on the Pequots. Sailing from Boston on August 25, 1635/36, in three pinnaces with two shallops, the Endicott expedition, which was joined, incidentally, by Captain John Underhill and Captain John Turner, arrived off Block Island some days later, landed under cover of nightfall and wiped out the Indian settlement. Endicott even killed the dogs! Then, when he was satisfied that no living thing remained, Endicott sailed across the Sound to Saybrooke. (Underhill's account in Massachusetts Historical Society Coll. 3rd Series, VI:5-6.)

Captain Gardiner met the Boston men, Endicott, Underhill and Turner, with mixed feelings. He had the highest respect for the Pequots, and in fact he did not hesitate to credit them with greater personal valor than the highly trained and courageous infantrymen of Spain whom he had faced so recently in the Netherlands. John Higginson, his young Chaplain, had equal respect for their warlike qualities. Writing from within beleaguered Fort Saybrooke he dwelt upon their "experience of warlike affairs (being men of war from their youth)," upon their "agility in arms," upon their wise strategy in providing impregnable places to which to retreat, upon their success in forming alliances with other tribes and upon their "malice . . . cruelty . . . and insolence." (See Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 3rd Series, VI:157; 4th Series, VII:396 and 4th Series, VI:164) Accordingly, Captain Gardiner protested vigorously when he heard that it was Endicott's intention to march against the Pequots, and he was supported by Thomas Pell, who had studied the Indians at close range and was beginning to understand them. Gardiner said to Endicott: "You come hither to raise these wasps about my ears; then you will take wing and fly away." Meanwhile Thomas Pell and John Underhill almost came to blows. (Lion Gardiner, *Pequot War*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III:140.) However, the Massachusetts men continued to sail along the Nyantic coast to Pequot territory with two additional pinnaces contributed by Gardiner, who wrote of his "great grief" that the expedition had selected his Fort for "rendezvous or seat of war."

Near the mouth of the Pequot, or Thames River, Endicott detected

Pequot sentinals who gave the alarm. Soon the shore was alive with tribesmen who cried out: "What cheer, Englishmen, what cheer! What do you come for? Are you angry? Do you come to fight?" Endicott did not deign to reply but sailed on to the mouth of the Thames River, where he dropped anchor for the night. The Indians lit fires along either side of the river, and they "made most doleful and woe-ful cries all the night (so that we could scarce rest) hallooing one to the other, and giving word from place to place, to gather their forces together, roaring the English were come to war against them." (John Underhill, *News from America*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, VI:7-8.)

The next morning a Pequot Sachem, "a grave senior, a man of good understanding, majestic in his expressions" came on board Endicott's pinnace and requested an explanation of the "visit." Endicott parleyed, pretending to be on a peaceful mission, while he gave orders to his men to seek to surround the Indians so that they might be wiped out. Indeed, when he knew that his men were ashore and in place, Endicott became threatening, demanding the surrender of Stone's murderers and the payment of a substantial indemnity. The Sachem rejoined with a long explanation, seeking to gain time while his fellow tribesmen could withdraw. Then, when he was sure they were out of harm's way, he asked Endicott's permission to go ashore and confer with his Council. Endicott agreed. His men were already arrayed "in battaglia" and the Sachem departed, never to return. The Pequots had outwitted Endicott and withdrawn to one of their *castellos*. All the Boston Captain could do was to burn whatever wigwams were near at hand and sail away for Massachusetts Bay without even one hostage to show for his expedition.

But Endicott's challenge, failure though it was, meant that the Pequot War was on for fair. Indeed, as the Massachusetts men returned to their homes, Lion Gardiner and his garrison at Saybrooke were left to bear the brunt of a hostile Indian coalition which was formed between the Pequots and the Narragansetts for "mutual defense." As Lion Gardiner observed: "As they (the Massachusetts men) came without our knowledge, they went against our will." (Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., III:145.) As a matter of fact, Endicott did not even have the courtesy to call at Saybrooke on his return trip. He just left the Fort to fend for itself.

Three times during the winter of 1637/38 Fort Saybrooke was attacked by the Pequots, and Thomas Pell, the Surgeon, was desper-

ately put to it to care for the lives of members of the garrison who were severely wounded. Thus, in a first attack in the late autumn when Gardiner sent five men to gather the harvest for the Fort, two were ambushed and tortured to death by the Pequots, who boasted in a message to the Captain of Saybrooke that "We are Pequots, and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes, and we will go to Connecticut and kill men, women and children,"—a bad omen for Weathersfield and Windsor. (Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III:145.) Then, in a second onslaught in January, the Pequots swept down on settlers loading hay and carried off and roasted a Mr. Mitchell. In a third attack on February 22 the pickets, "our two sound men, ran away" and failed to give the alarm. Gardiner mobilized the garrison in time for defense and repulsed the Indian marauders, charging at them with drawn sword amid a rain of arrows. Two men were killed in this engagement, and Gardiner was all for hanging the pickets. But "at the interception of old Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Pell, I did forbear." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VIII:395-397.)

Somewhat later in the winter a Mr. Tille, a merchant of Boston with a permit to go to Hartford, sailed into Saybrooke harbor and was somewhat skeptical of Captain Gardiner's account of Indian hostility. In fact he persisted in continuing up the river and, when Gardiner told him this was sheer folly, he became very indignant and abusive. With this the Captain pointed out that "Mr. Higginson, Mr. Pell, Mr. Thomas Hurlburt and John Green can witness that the same day (as Tille's arrival) a house was burned at Caulfield Point and I went with Mr. Higginson and Mr. Pell and four men more, broke open the door and took note of all that was in the house." In any event, the skeptical Mr. Tille continued on his way up the river in his "pink," was captured by the Indians and flayed to death after his fingers, toes and other parts were cut off and used to adorn the Indians' heads as "cap bands." Gardiner despatched men to bring the "pink" to Saybrooke, where he sent "Mr. Higginson and Mr. Pell aboard to take the invoice of all that was in the vessel that might be lost."

In the later winter and early spring the tale of ruthless murder and fiendish torture continued. On going out with two men to burn the underbrush near the Fort, Gardiner and two others were severely wounded and four men shot dead. Attacks from the river bank were frequent, and to increase his worries, Gardiner's supplies began to

run out. In a letter to Winthrop the younger, he could not resist a touch of irony: "It seems we have neither masters nor owners, but are left like so many servants whose masters are willing to be quit of them. . . . Here is not five shillings of money and no beaver. . . . We have not so much as will pay for the mending of our old boat." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII:53.) As this letter did not seem to bring any result, Gardiner wrote to Winthrop a second time at the end of March, speaking plenty this time: "Thus hoping that you will be the means to stir up our friends in the Bay out of their dead sleep of security, to this that your condition may be as ours is, unless some speedy course is taken, which must not be done by a few, but by a great company, for all the Indians have their eyes fixed on us." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII:57.) Still the Boston merchants were inclined to pooh-pooh the danger and minimize the effectiveness of Pequot arrows. As a consequence, when the Pequots next attacked, Gardiner recovered the body of one of his men who had been killed by an arrow that had entered his right side and penetrated half through a rib on the left side. "This I took out and cleaned it, and presumed to send it to the Bay," wrote Gardiner. (Lion Gardiner, *Pequot Wars*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III:144.)

Chaplain Higginson added his word in a letter to Winthrop: "To have ten lusty men, out of so little number as ours, cruelly slain, others crying out and roaring through extremity of pain of wounds, others gasping and dying and breathing their last, ourselves beleagured by the bloodthirsty and hemmed in by those who daily seek our lives." Chaplain Higginson, who was only just twenty-one years old, continued, "In all these respects and many more, I desire it may be considered whether the serious and speedy prosecution of the war be not the greater business New England hath, for it cannot be conceived that either building, planting, fishing, trading, colleges, etc., can go forward without a timely removing and preventing the wars now begun, for these are but the beginning of war; the progress hath been something bad, what the issue will be, the Lord alone knows." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII:395-397.)

Surgeon Pell did not write, and he was a young man in his twenties, too, it must be remembered, but the Chaplain's account of conditions indicates clearly enough that the Surgeon had all that he could do to save some lives during the tragic winter and heal some wounds, without medical supplies of any kind, or even bandages. What agonies of mind and spirit he must have suffered! How helpless he must

have felt, and insufficient, in that wilderness, surrounded by howling savages, with his friends and comrades dying before his eyes!

At last, however, the Massachusetts and Connecticut Magistrates began to waken from their "dead sleep of security." But it took the massacre at Wethersfield to bring them to their feet. Only at that point did they realize that they had a full scale war on their hands. Even then they tried to stave it off, or at least to avoid the worst consequences, and asked Roger Williams of Rhode Island, whom they had persecuted but who was beloved by his Indian neighbors, to interpose on behalf of the English with the Pequots. He visited Canonicus, Chief of the Narragansetts, where he found the ambassadors of the Pequots. Apparently he dissuaded the Narragansetts from joining the Pequots in hostilities. But he could do nothing with the Pequot braves, who were outraged by what they felt was English double dealing. Indeed, their answer was to take to the field with a vengeance. Connecticut towns by the score were surrounded and the men, women and children massacred. Settlers who left the stockades were scalped and tortured. Town after town was burned to the ground.

Obviously, military countermeasures had to be taken at once and forces raised. The promptest action was taken at Hartford, where on May 1 the General Court authorized the raising of a force of some 90 men under the command of Captain John Mason, who was given the rank of Major. Next, the Massachusetts General Court met in special session and provided for the levy of 160 men. Plymouth followed and raised a company.

On May 29 the Connecticut contingent under John Mason, who was an experienced veteran of the wars in the Netherlands, embarked in three vessels at Hartford and sailed down the Connecticut river to Saybrooke. There Mason was joined by the fiery Captain John Underhill with the Massachusetts contingent, not to mention several hundred Narragansetts and Mohicans. Underhill stated without mincing words that Mason's men "were not fitted for such a design." Gardiner agreed with Underhill and added that he would not denude his garrison to send men against the Pequots. Finally, however, a compromise was reached: Only 20 of the 80 Connecticut men who actually got to Saybrooke were considered fit for the duty, and Gardiner agreed to add 20 of his men. (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III:149.)

The next problem to trouble the "three old soldiers"—that is,

Gardiner, Underhill and Mason—was the plan of campaign. Mason was instructed by the armchair strategists in Hartford to go by sea to the mouth of the Thames River and then strike inland. To Gardiner and Underhill this seemed like madness. Scouts would spot the expedition just as they had alerted the tribes to Endicott's expedition the previous year. A landing would be resisted. Thereafter the advantages would be all on the side of the Pequots in the dense forest trails from the shores of the Thames to their castle at the Mystic. What seemed wiser would be to sail past the Pequot country to the coastline controlled by the Narragansetts, land there and turn westward to make a flank attack on the Mystic fort. Chaplain Stone then prayed long and audibly, and finally agreed that it was the Lord's will that the Gardiner-Underhill plan should be adopted in preference to that of the Hartford Magistrates in their commission to Mason.

With that the Mason-Underhill expedition sailed, reached Narragansett territory and then started a weary march through difficult terrain to the Pequot fort at Mystic. The Indian allies deserted in large numbers as the expedition approached the fort, which it reached finally at nightfall on June 4. The fort was located on the edge of a swamp between hills, and the garrison apparently suspected nothing. The night was starlit and cool, and before daybreak of the 5th the attack was on. Underhill led the assault from the south, Mason from the west. The English militiamen broke down the palisades, murdered the sleeping Indians and set the wigwams on fire while other units and the Indian allies were drawn up in a circle around the perimeter of the fort to prevent the escape of "any living soul." In fact only about 40 Indians forced their way through the ring in a furious sortie. The rest, men, women and children, estimated by the English to be about 500, were put to the sword or burned alive. As Winthrop subsequently wrote Governor Bradford of Massachusetts after hearing an eyewitness account of the battle, "It was a fearful sight to see them frying in ye fyre and ye streams of blood quenching ye same, and horrible was ye stink and sente thereof; but ye victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the prayers thereof to God who had wrought so wonderfully for them," a victory which Gardiner, Mason and Underhill described in separate accounts. Such was the battle of Mystic Fort. It spelled the doom of the Pequots.

Lion Gardiner mentioned in particular the fact that "I furnished

them with such items as they wanted (Underhill and Mason, that is) and sent Mr. Pell, the Surgeon, with them, and the Lord blessed their Design and Way." Surgeon Pell, who was "much wanting" in "necessities and comforts" for the expedition, remained on shipboard by order of Major Mason. Immediately word was brought of the battle, however, he hurried to the scene and took charge. Apparently he did not come up soon enough to please the apoplectic Captain Underhill, who wrote: "Our Chirurgeon we wanted. Our Chirurgeon, not accustomed to war, durst not hazard himself when we ventured our lives, but, like a freshwater soldier, kept aboard, and by this our poor wounded soldiers were brought to a great strait and sorry fortune; some of them swounded away for want of speedy help." Captain Underhill notwithstanding, it was Surgeon Pell who amputated and bandaged the wounded men; that is, three-quarters of the English force. Moreover, his task was greatly complicated as he was directing the evacuation of the walking wounded when a force of 200 Pequots put in an appearance, and Captains Underhill and Patrick had to fight a rear guard action which added to Surgeon Pell's toll of wounded. In order to meet this new crisis he ordered that mats should be slung between poles, and in this way the more seriously wounded, many with Pequot arrows still in their flesh, were carried to the waiting ships. There they were put aboard and borne to Saybrooke where they were "nobly entertained" by Captain Gardiner "with many great guns." (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VIII:143.) Of course, for Surgeon Pell there was a nightmare quality about the effort to save the lives of the wounded, with no one competent to aid him and only the most meagre supplies and no such thing as a drug.

Nonetheless, a few days later, in the second week in June, 1637, his wounded being cared for, Surgeon Pell was instructed by Captain Gardiner to accompany the expedition which completed the destruction of the Pequots. Captains Israel, Stoughton and William Trask arrived meanwhile from Boston with 70 additional men to join the 40 men who had survived unscathed the Mystic battle. Under the over all command of Major Mason and with Lieutenant Governor Roger Ludlow of Connecticut on the scene as well, the whole force was embarked once again and sailed down the coast to the vicinity of Fairfield. There the few Pequots who had escaped from Mystic Fort and all the others from several forest outposts had taken refuge in a large swamp neighboring the Sound. At this point the English surrounded and killed all the Indians whom they could reach. Surgeon

Pell did what he could to bind the wounds of the survivors, whether white or red, and marked in his mind the fair fields where the last battle of the Pequot War had taken place.

In truth, the destruction of the Indian survivors at Fairfield, and the distribution of the women and children as slaves, not only ended the Pequot War but the Pequot nation, and assured peace in the area for the last two years of Gardiner's captaincy. In 1639, George Fenwick, who brought with him his wife, the former Lady Alice Boteler, and a large group of settlers marshalled by the Reverend Dr. Whitfield, succeeded Gardiner. He sailed directly with two ships from Plymouth, England, to Saybrooke Fort and occupied the Great Hall next to it. Lady Alice laid out an orchard and a garden, in which she was helped by Surgeon Pell, who taught her about healing herbs.

Then, soon after Fenwick's arrival, he undertook negotiations with John Haynes and Roger Ludlow, Governor and Lieutenant Governor respectively of Connecticut, looking to the union of Saybrooke with Connecticut. The negotiation dragged on for a considerable time because the Connecticut men were unable to meet Fenwick's "asking price." Finally, on December 4, 1644, agreement on a price was reached and George Fenwick sold the Fort at Saybrooke and the territory around it to Connecticut, although he continued to live there until the Lady Alice's death not long after. He buried her by the sea, under the walls of the Fort, and sailed, a broken man, to England. Well before this, Surgeon Thomas Pell had moved to New Haven.

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THOMAS PELL

*Surgeon and Merchant Adventurer
at New Haven*

Sometime in the year 1640/41, the Reverend John Davenport invited Thomas Pell to come to New Haven as physician of his newly founded colony. Thomas Pell accepted, probably because it was clear by this time that the colony of Saybrooke was to be abandoned by its proprietors who, along with the lawyer Pym, had become convinced that there was to be no half way house for England and that the only answer to King Charles I was civil war. Dreams of colonial expansion, and the more solid schemes of the rich men in England, had to be abandoned during the time of trouble, and Saybrooke was among those to be "put on the shelf" or, better still, disposed of to Connecticut. The time had come, in a word, for those who had stood for reform to pass into revolution. The attainder and execution of the Earl of Strafford, the King's Principal Minister, in this year marked the point of no return. Many men, including the King, were to die before the business was finished. It was clearly not a time for reason and equipoise which were so dear to moderate men like Thomas Pell. A deep and final division had come in English minds. A choice was left for Englishmen between two forms of arbitrary rule. Intolerance was offered on both sides in the name of liberty. It was absolute Parliament or absolute King, and men of science and intellect like the surgeon at Saybrooke, who had at Fairfield bandaged indiscriminately men who were white and men who were red, could no longer hope for compromise. Quite evidently Saybrooke was to be allowed to wither on the vine. There was no returning to England for

men who were neither Roundhead fanatics nor fanatical Cavaliers. Thomas Pell, who was neither, decided to accept the call to New Haven.

We can picture Thomas packing his surgeon's kit and girding his sword, which he mentioned later in his will, and bidding farewell to Lady Alice Fenwick, who was soon to die and be buried at Saybrooke. We can think of him giving a last look at the Fort where he had witnessed so much courage and suffering, and where he had passed through the dark valleys of his apprenticeship. He was twenty-nine years old now, older than a thirty year old today, in an age when the average life was short. He was annealed. He faced New Haven and whatever it would bring with confidence, without a doubt, and a physician's practice which appealed to the scientific man that he was.

New Haven, to which Thomas Pell was invited to come by the Reverend John Davenport, whom Thomas had certainly known in the Netherlands in the entourage of Lady Vere, was already a prospering colony by the time "Chirurgion" Pell bade his farewells at Saybrooke. Davenport, formerly vicar of St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street, London, had passed through the vicissitudes of a clergyman gradually moving to Puritanism in England, through the reform movement within the Church, in opposition to Archbishop Laud, and finally to a break with the Anglican Church of Laud and flight to Holland wearing a grey suit and a false beard, with papers in the name of a merchant named Stone. From there it was a short step to the conviction that a return to England, which was sinking into religious and civil strife, must be excluded, and that the only alternative was migration overseas to Massachusetts Bay. Next he teamed up with Theophilus Eaton, a prosperous merchant of London of Puritan sympathies, who had been one of the original Patentees of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and, with their relatives and connections as a nucleus, including many of the parishioners of St. Stephen's, most of them partners in the prosperous livery companies, they organized the flight to the New World, Davenport returning to England in disguise. Eaton succeeded in purchasing the 250 ton *Hector* and a second ship whose name is unknown, and on June 26, 1636/37, Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts noted in his *Journal* that the two ships had arrived, having on board the Reverend John Davenport, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, and others.

The new arrivals under the aegis of their pastor, John Davenport,

then hunted around for a place to settle, consulting with the Reverend Hugh Peters, whose assistant Davenport had been in Holland, and the Reverend John Cotton, among many others. Finally they determined to go to Quinnipiac (New Haven), a fine port, which Captain Israel Stoughton described to Davenport in glowing colors. Captain John Underhill backed up Stoughton and suggested to Eaton and Davenport that they should move quickly or the place would be seized by the Dutch. So on August 31, 1636/37, Davenport and others of his company went to look at Quinnipiac and left a small group to hold title over the winter. On March 30, 1637/38, Davenport led his flock to their new home, joined by the Reverend Peter Prudden and his congregation and a Puritan group from Hertfordshire. On April 24 the colonists disembarked in their new "haven" while the Reverend Peter Prudden preached on the text "The voice of one crying in the wilderness. Prepare ye the way of the Lord. . . ."

All that first spring and summer the New Haven settlers busied themselves building temporary shelters and laying up stores. They also treated with the Indians, who were friendly in that region, and explored and staked out claims to neighboring territory. Moreover during the summer a surveyor, John Brockett, supervised the laying out of the town plot in eight squares around a central green which survives in New Haven to this day. A provisional Government was set up. Rules were formalized. Finally twelve men were chosen whose mission it was to select seven who would act as the "Elect" of the new Church-State. These seven were Davenport, Eaton, Jeremy Dixon, Thomas Fugill, Matthew Gilbert, Robert Newman and John Ponder-son. In August 1638/39 they drew up the Church Covenant, and the Church was organized which was co-existent with the State.

New Havén, in a word, was to be a Puritan Commonwealth, based on the stern moral code the Puritans had come to adopt, drawn from all that was harshest in Calvinism. Quoting the scriptures, they became rigid censors of conduct, and waited for (and firmly believed it would come) a new revelation through the Chosen, that is, themselves. The central doctrines of these Puritans were parity among Ministers and the priesthood of all believers. They asserted the separate kingdoms of Church and State. But in fact they demanded for the first the powers and functions of the second. Moreover they claimed to have the only "revelation" and demanded that any state which they were willing to tolerate should aim to compel the nation

into their church's fold. In short, they had come to believe in a Theocracy, supported by the Chosen who would be admitted to the "Freedom" of their Church. The craving of these people was for new authority to replace the old authority which had disappeared among the shifting sands of the Revolution. Concomitantly these Puritans suffered a quickening sense of sin. They were almost maniacally concerned with their souls and the world beyond the grave, and each of them had to fight out the battle in his own soul, alone. Those who emerged triumphantly in this wrestle knew themselves to be among the Chosen People, beyond temporal fears. This was a power outside politics. Theology suddenly became terribly alive, because on it hung the issue of life and death.

Accordingly, the seven Elect of New Haven decreed at once that only Church members could be free burgesses, that is, to take part in the government of the Colony, and only the "Chosen" could become members, that is, Freemen, of the Church. In the beginning there were only sixteen Church members; only sixteen men, in a word, who could participate in the government which was inaugurated on October 25, 1639/40 when the seven constituted themselves the Civil Court, that is, New Haven's civil government. In true fact, the seven had absolute powers. They could decide who could come to the Colony, who should leave, and how all should behave while they were there. The Court was the State, and it is through the records of the Court that we know something of the life of Thomas Pell from the time he accepted Davenport's invitation to go to New Haven as surgeon in 1640 to the time he broke with the Bible Commonwealth when the news came of the murder of King Charles I in 1650. Indeed, through these Court records we have a glimpse of three phases of Thomas' life in New Haven, as surgeon, as merchant-adventurer investing in trade and even in ships, the fees which he received as a doctor, and finally as a political man, coming down on the side of the King when he refused to take the oath to the Puritan Commonwealth in England with which the Puritan Government of New Haven joyfully threw in its lot. We also get a glimpse of the attitudes of the Court, that is the Puritan dictators of the Colony, through the trial of Lucy (French) Brewster who, after her husband, the rich and prosperous Francis Brewster, was lost at sea, married Thomas Pell. Francis Brewster in fact ranked after Eaton and Davenport in wealth, all with an investment of £1,000 in the Colony. George Lamberton, with whom he sailed to England, never to return, was another of the

six richest men. As a matter of fact, though small, New Haven ranked as the wealthiest group settling in America in the Seventeenth Century, and it was a very poor man who had only fifty acres and an investment of a mere £350.

Furthermore, New Haven town soon had offspring, at Guildford and Milford, at Branford, Stamford and across the Sound on Long Island at Southold. In 1643/44 these Puritan towns coalesced and formed one colony on October 27, when they adopted the Fundamental Order as a form of government, based rigidly on the New Haven precedent but providing for two Deputies from each town who would elect a Governor, Deputy Governor, Secretary and Marshal. It was no surprise when they chose Theophilus Eaton as Governor of the new Theocracy. Shortly thereafter New Haven entered the New England Confederation, and while it was still in the Federation but still an independent colony, Thomas Pell in 1650 turned his back on the iron rule of the Commonwealth men and settled beyond the confines of their territory and the reach of their stern Court, at Fairfield, Connecticut.

Now, Thomas Pell was first of all the Surgeon at New Haven, the only medical man in the Colony during the first ten years. We get a glimpse of his activities in this field in the contemporary litigation. There is mention of his being called in the night to attend sick people, and rows over fees, paid in kind, of course. There are tales of emergencies which he met, and we can picture him, by candle light, poring over the few medical books which he had out from England by this time, diagnosing mysterious illnesses, or cutting off a maimed limb after dosing his patient with a strong shot of rum. In his capacity as Surgeon he had a respected position, and on Sundays he sat in the first place "in the crosse seats in the end" after the pews reserved for the "Chosen." This was, of course, on the left hand side of the middle aisle; the women sat on the right hand side. Moreover, like all those who did not do manual work, he was addressed as "Mr." and he was exempted from duty on the watch or drill.

Occasionally in his capacity as Surgeon, moreover, Thomas Pell was called upon to testify as to the amount of damages suffered by one of his patients in a case for redress. On November 7, 1645, for example, he testified in behalf of Stephen Metcalfe, who had lost an eye. Thomas Pell valued it at ten shillings, or the price of a gun.

From medicine, meanwhile, Thomas Pell branched into business, and it was not long before he owned many rich pieces of real estate

in New Haven and in the countryside around it. Moreover, as a merchant adventurer, he had his shares in craft in the beaver trade with the Delaware and in "ventures" as far afield as Virginia and the Bahamas. He also served as Executor for several estates, for the late Richard Jewell in 1642, as is attested in a case of September 7 with regard to an indentured servant, one Thomas Toby, and again on November 2 and December 7, 1642, when he appeared as attorney for Richard Jewell's executors. He also was involved in disputes relating to deals in which he was engaged. Thus on April 8, 1645, he was haled before the General Court and charged with extortion in the price of leather sold to one John Meggs, but the charge was not proven and Meggs was fined. Again, on January 5, 1646, Thomas Pell was cited in the case of Brother Caffinche's horse, and on July 6, 1647, he attached £200 worth of Mr. Zellick's goods. On December 7 of that year there was litigation about the wages of Philip Gilpin, who was a member of the crew of the "barke *Falcon*," in which Thomas Pell and others imported tobacco from Virginia. He was in court again on February 1, 1648, in connection with this case and the Virginia shipper, given as a "Mr. Thompson." On December 7, 1648, Thomas Pell was in court once more in a case involving the barter of a cow and hogs for beaver skins with one Harvie. Mr. Pell was also in a row with Mr. Caffinche over the price of corn, and it was put to arbitration. Later in the year Mr. Pell was in Court in a dispute over beaver skins with turtle shells from the Bahamas added this time, and the "passage of a maid" in his bark and "some fine wine."

Thomas Pell seemed to come down on the winning side in most of these suits, at a time in New Haven Colony when justice was severe and sentences of whipping and maiming were handed out freely, mostly to the lesser people, of course. Banishment was frequent, too, and deportation. The "Seven" were stern and brooked no opposition, and Thomas Pell, in his last phase in New Haven, alone seems to have stood up to them.

This was after his marriage, in 1647/48, to Lucy Brewster, who had shown her contempt for the New Haven magistrates in a case which shook the colony to the core. On June 3, 1644/45, Lucy (French) Brewster, who accompanied her husband, the rich and influential Francis Brewster, to New Haven with the Kent group, appeared before the Court in what was to be the *cause célèbre* of New Haven's early history. She was variously accused, on the testimony of a maid who glued her ear to the keyhole of the door to the Brewsters'

parlor, of laughing at the preacher during his sermon; of tearing up his written sermon and putting it in the fire; of declaring to neighbors that she was "sermon sick;" of encouraging good wives not to join the Church; of speaking of Mass and the High Altar, thus raising a suspicion that she had "Papist" leanings; of denouncing the whipping of innocent people and encouraging her son to this view, who was quoted as saying that the poor people were "cruelly whipped" and "he had rather fall into the hands of the Turks and rather be hanged than fall into their (the Magistrates') hands;" of talking of going to Roger Williams' Rhode Island; of calling the preachers "bigots;" of describing the good wives who had testified for the preachers regarding her religious heresies as "whores" and "harlots;" of drinking wine on the Sabbath and giving it to others; of inviting "persons" to sit drinking wine by pints and of greeting them within her house; and finally of declaring before witnesses that she would better be dead than continue to live in such a place; that is, New Haven.

Lucy Brewster's defense was an example of masterful irony. She confessed to criticizing the preacher's sermons and repeated before the Court that they merited criticism. She denied encouraging other wives to leave the Church. This was not necessary. They were as "sermon sick" as she was. She denied speaking of Mass and the High Altar, but added that she was an Anglican and proud of it. She denied that her son would rather fall into the hands of the Turks. What he *had* said was that the whipping engaged in by the Magistrates was worthy of the Turks. She did not "remember" saying that she thought of removing to Rhode Island. But maybe she would. Perhaps she had called the preachers bigots, and she had not denounced their witnesses as whores and harlots. She had merely described them as harlots. Yes, it was true that she had drunk wine on the Sabbath, and she would continue to drink it. As for giving it to others, she had given some to persons who were sick and in need of it and to certain persons who had asked for it, and here she named two of the Magistrates. Finally, it was quite true that she said she would not wish to live in such a place, and what did the Magistrates propose to do about it?

The Magistrates hemmed and hawed. Then, with much embarrassment because of the rich Mr. Brewster's position in the Colony and after much cogitation, they imposed a heavy fine on Lucy Brewster and inflicted "temporary banishment" on her. Evidently the

Brewsters did not find New Haven congenial, and Francis sailed in Lamberton's ship for England. His wife was to follow. But Lamberton's ship was never heard of again. It foundered with all hands in a storm in the Atlantic, although on foggy days it has reappeared since then in the guise of the ghost ship of New Haven, as many people, including "innocent girls and boys," have testified!

Thomas Pell promptly married the wealthy widow Brewster and his troubles began. On June 1, 1647/48, he was "laid under contempt of Court" for refusing to pay Lucy Pell's fine or to bring in the inventory of his wife's estate. On November 2, 1647/48, Mr. Pell "being in contempt," was brought to the Court, and he said that it was he who held the Court in contempt because he knew of no law whereby he could be held responsible for his wife's fine. The Court was somewhat nonplussed and gave him time in which to prepare his brief.

On December 7, with the period granted to him elapsed, Governor Eaton warned Pell to bring in the fine and "inventory of his wife's estate." Thomas Pell refused and asked for more time. Summoned again on January 4, 1648/49, Mr. Pell refused to appear and was again held in contempt of Court. On February 1, he condescended to appear. But once more, although he sent through his attorney the inventory of his wife's estate, he asserted that he could find no law which obligated him to pay his wife's fine. Anyway she had been fined for an "offense not proved." The Court boomed that this was a "slander" upon it. Mr. Pell declared that there was no proof that his wife had been guilty of "excessive drinking." The Court replied that she had not been fined on this charge, and Mr. Pell argued that then he could not see why she was fined because there was no other charge. The Court replied that his "injurious carriage" before it had been "aggravated" in the "full light of what had been tendered him" and referred his "miscarriage" to the next term of the Court when it would pass sentence.

Not at the next term but several terms later, in December, 1648/49, Mr. Pell flatly declined to appear or to pay his fine. Thereupon, the Court held him in contempt for the third time.

On the following February 1, 1649/50, Mr. Pell's attorney, Mr. Powell, appeared for him and declared that Mr. Pell, who meanwhile had left the jurisdiction of New Haven for Fairfield, would neither appear before the Court nor pay his wife's fine. Mr. Powell was told that Mr. Pell's "carriage hath been full of high contempt against the Court," and he was warned that "steps" would be taken against Mr. Pell. Finally, on April 3, 1649/50, the Court sent the

Sergeant to bring Mr. Pell before it, and he was told that he "hath sundry times been warned by this Court about a fine laid upon him by the Court of Magistrates for this jurisdiction, but he hath neither appeared at any session of the Court till then nor brought his fine." Herewith the Court asked Thomas Pell if he "hath now brought his fine." To which Thomas Pell replied: "No. That gives answer." By the June 1649/50 session the Magistrates were advertising for a new physician to take the place of Thomas Pell, who had given notice that he was leaving New Haven for good and had, in fact, gone to Boston to meet with Roger Ludlow.

Meanwhile Thomas Pell, at the session of the Court of September 5, 1649/50, had refused to take the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth and the Protector, Oliver Cromwell. He replied that he saw no necessity to take the oath as he had already taken an oath to the King in England. He was excoriated by the Governor, denounced in the Colony, and fined twenty shillings which he, through his attorney, Mr. Leach, at the session of September 5, refused to pay, and was once more held in contempt. But by then he had firmly decided to shake the dust of New Haven and try his fate in Fairfield, where a Church of England man, not to mention a King's man, might be left in peace. The last references to Thomas Pell in New Haven are in connection with the liquidation of his real estate, which was vast by this time. In the March term of the General Court in 1652/53 the sale of his land holdings is recorded, notably the properties which Lucy Brewster had inherited from her husband, including a plot on the town green. The remaining lots were sold in 1653/54 and 1654/55: To John Thompson, eleven acres of land, to Jervise Boykin twelve acres, to Thomas Wheeler twelve acres, to William Bradley 154 acres of upland and 33 acres of meadow; to Allen Ball 178½ acres of upland, 21½ acres of meadow and "7 acres of land in ye neck w^h belonged to Mr. Brewster's lott." On all these occasions Thomas and Lucy Pell's attorney was Thomas Yale. Minor settlements of his estate in New Haven followed in the March term of 1657/58 when a claim was mediated and in the February term of 1658/59, when a note was finally paid. Lucy Pell, meanwhile, had appeared at the Court session of May 13, 1654 in the case of "witch" Goodwife Knapp, the witch lunacy having spread to New Haven from Massachusetts by then. With rare good humor, Lucy advised the poor Goodwife to "name names" of other witches, which was a way of reducing the charge as to an absurdum, and Mrs. Knapp obliged by naming some good ones, including some of ladies who "held their heads high."

❧ VI ❧

THOMAS PELL

*A Leading Citizen of
Fairfield, Connecticut*

Thomas Pell, it will be recalled, had been much attracted during the campaign against the Pequots by the "fair fields" around the Indian "castle," the rich meadow lands, the fresh springs and the streamlets of pure water. As a consequence, he put in his claim for a grant of land when the booty was distributed to the military who completed the conquest of the Pequots, some of it in Indian slaves, some of it in bushels of corn and the other possessions of the Indians, and finally in acres of land. Roger Ludlow, the Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut Colony, with whom Thomas Pell established a fast friendship during the expedition to Fairfield, pressed the surgeon's claim along with his own, and at the distribution Thomas was second on the list, after Ludlow, of those granted abundant acres carved from the Indian territory. The grants included the following in the order in which they are listed: Roger Ludlow, Thomas Pell, James Eggleston, Nehemiah 'Olmsted, William Hayden, Thomas Lyon, Samuel Grey, Thomas Bassett, John Ward and Richard Osborne. In 1639/40 Roger Ludlow obtained a confirmation of the grants (originally made by Connecticut Colony) from New Haven Colony, which also claimed the territory, and Thomas Pell then negotiated a Treaty in behalf of the claimants with the Sachem of Peyronneck, an Indian claimant, thus clearing the titles all around.

Thomas Pell's grant at Fairfield was extensive and included town, meadow and pasture lands. But Thomas, though maintaining title,

made no attempt to live in Fairfield until his break, in 1650, with Cromwellian New Haven after the murder of King Charles I. On his return from Boston, which followed his rupture with New Haven, Thomas first rented and then, on February 9, 1652/53, bought the house of Nathan Gold in Fairfield, "next to the parsonage land." This same year, as the New Haven records show for the March Term 1652/53, Thomas sold his house and three lots in New Haven, a further three lots in 1653/54 and a final group in 1654/55. Thomas Yale was the attorney in all these transactions for Thomas Pell, who by this time, as his holdings in real estate show, was a wealthy man.

At Fairfield, which lay beyond New Haven in close proximity to the "frontier" with the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands, Thomas Pell continued to build up his fortune in land holdings. Thus, on February 9, 1653/54, he bought a large tract of land near Fairfield from Philip Pinckney, to whom he was later to issue a grant as one of the Ten Proprietors of Westchester, and whose daughter Rachel was to become the wife of John, Thomas' nephew, to be Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham. Concomitantly, as a prominent man, he appeared on many committees and commissions, always as "Mr. Pell," while the others mentioned were William this or Richard that. Above all he became a specialist in Indian affairs, since Fairfield was the first buffer to the Indians in the "No-man's land" between Connecticut, to which Fairfield was to pass when New Haven was absorbed by Hartford, and the Dutch Province. He is repeatedly mentioned as "treating" with the Indians, notably with Wampus, Wampage or John White, as he was variously called, probably because he was partly white or perhaps a captive child who had been adopted and raised by the Indians as was their custom. Wampage married Anna, or Prasque, daughter of Romaneck, Paramount Chief of all the Siwanoy Indians in this area and, as the Indian King and successor to Romaneck, claimed all the lands extending from Fairfield deep into Dutch territory, including Pelham. In fact, some years later, on March 28, 1679, Wampage-White brought his claim before the Privy Council in England, and on May 17, 1680, the Privy Council found for him. (Col. Rec. Conn., III:281.)

THOMAS ACQUIRES PELHAM FROM WAMPAGE

Thomas Pell, at all events, was in regular contact with Wampage-White, and on November 11, 1654/55, he negotiated a Treaty with

him, who now sometimes boasted that he had ordered the murder of Anne Hutchinson and her family as trespassers, although he spared the younger daughter Anna, or Susannah, whom he "carried off." Other Sachems ratified the Treaty along with Wampage whereby Thomas acquired title to nearly 200,000 acres, including all the islands off the coast, running from Eastchester to the Hutchinson River and beyond, all the way to the Harlem River. The Treaty was signed under an oak, the Indians squatting near a spring, which was known thereafter as the "Treaty oak," in the heart of the future Manor of Pelham, and Thomas Pell formally took possession of his future lordship by burying his seal, with his arms, at the root of the oak.

Why did Thomas Pell make this purchase of thousands of acres in territory which was clearly within the frontiers of New Netherlands? One theory is that Pell was instigated to take this action in order to found a claim for the Colony of Connecticut to extend its boundary to the westward into Dutch territory and thus to establish a *casus belli* with the Dutch when political conditions should warrant a war which was much desired by the citizens of Connecticut.

THE LUDLOW-PELL ROYALIST PLOT

Another reason why Thomas Pell bought Pelham—and this is based on the suspicion expressed by the Connecticut Magistrates at that time—is that he and Roger Ludlow were in a plot to found a new Colony to the west of Fairfield, including a portion of Dutch territory, which would be a haven for Royalists and others who were not enthusiastic about Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth. The suspicions of the Connecticut Magistrates were heightened when, this same year, 1654/55, Ludlow and Pell raised troops in Fairfield and Stamford for a military expedition against the Dutch—without so much as a by-your-leave from the Connecticut Government. The Connecticut Magistrates regarded this action as insubordination at the best and treason at the worst. Concomitantly the Magistrates of New Haven put in their oar, charging that Ludlow, who had named himself Commander-in-Chief of the proposed expedition, was an "enemy of the Commonwealth" and was conspiring with "other seditious persons (i.e., Thomas Pell) to "lay out a territory" as a "refuge for traitors."

There may have been something in this charge of the Hartford and New Haven Magistrates against Ludlow and Pell. In any event

within the year Ludlow took flight from Connecticut to Virginia and from there to Ireland and ultimately to Wales. Pelham, to which Thomas Pell proposed to migrate, may have been the nucleus of the Colony and refuge which Ludlow and Pell planned to found. There it was, anyway, a wedge in Dutch territory and an open defiance of Governor Peter Stuyvesant only twenty miles away in Fort Amsterdam.

THOMAS PELL AND THE DUTCH

Dealing with the Dutch was not altogether a novel experience for Thomas Pell. Thus, when Governor Stuyvesant came to Hartford in 1650/51 to negotiate terms with the Connecticut authorities regarding the boundaries of the English and Dutch Provinces, Pell was present and marked the fixing of the Anglo-Dutch frontier from Greenwich Bay west to four miles from Stamford and then to the north no nearer than ten miles from the Hudson River. Moreover, on that occasion he got to know well the "Dutch" Commissioners, who were in fact Englishmen resident on Dutch territory; George Baxter, formerly the English secretary of Governor Stuyvesant, and the merchant Thomas Willets. Furthermore, it is most likely that he heard from them of the deep unrest in New Netherlands and the hostile spirit which animated the British settlers on Long Island and along the Connecticut frontier.

At all events, when war was declared by Cromwell's Commonwealth on the Dutch, Thomas Pell was in the forefront of those calling for mobilization of military forces, and among those who took to drilling with the companies of Stamford and Fairfield, paralleling Captain John Underhill's aggressive activity on Long Island. Furthermore, Thomas Pell was among the prominent men of Connecticut who threw his weight in favor of hostilities and expressed without mincing words their disappointment with the negative attitude of Massachusetts, which in fact preferred, for good sound business reasons, a Dutch New Netherlands' to Connecticut's control of New Amsterdam. However, it was with mixed feelings undoubtedly that he heard the news, brought by fast courier to Fairfield, that four British frigates had reached Boston with 200 Roundhead Regulars under Major Robert Sedgewick and Captain John Leverett, because by that time Ludlow, Pell and others were close to founding their separate "Republic" at Fairfield and Stamford, and they were not

certain if the Regulars would march against the Dutch—or the two towns. It must have been with mixed feelings also that Thomas Pell learned that just as Sedgewick and his company were about to sail from Boston a courier ship arrived from England announcing that Cromwell had concluded peace with the Dutch. This meant that Thomas Pell was free to go ahead with his plans in Westchester.

Peter Stuyvesant, in the meantime, was not slow to react to Thomas Pell's "aggression." On March 23, 1655, he sent an expedition, commanded by Lieutenant van Elslandt, the Marshall of the Dutch Court, to warn Pell off the territory. This expedition came by boat to City Island and thence to Pell's Point where Thomas Pell was building a house. Shouting from the deck of the ship, the Lieutenant said that he wished to land. One of Thomas Pell's men-at-arms told him that he would be seized if he put ashore. "But I'm cold," van Elslandt protested, "let me land and warm myself." And thereupon he sprang ashore. Immediately, the English surrounded him until the "Commandant of the Place"—Thomas Pell—ran up, "pistol in hand, the muzzle thrust right before him." Van Elslandt, although he was roughly handled, made his way to the Treaty Oak with the Pell arms nailed to it and persisted in reading the Court Order stating that the English were on the Vreelandt tract owned by Governor Stuyvesant and Director General Kiest "of blessed memory;" that the English were trespassers and that unless they left immediately they would be punished to the full limit of the law. Thereupon the Lieutenant Marshall proffered the Court Order to Thomas Pell, who refused to accept it and replied arrogantly: "Why doth not the Fiscal (in whose name the Court Order was drawn up) write in English? Then could we answer in writing. Until then we abide under the State of England."

Next, in the early spring of 1658/59, Governor Stuyvesant despatched a more formidable expedition to dislodge Thomas Pell. It was under the "valiant Captain Frederick de Cormick, Captain Lieutenant Brian Naton and Fiscal Cornelius van Tienhoven." They sailed up to Pell's Point in the ship *Weight Scales*, seized Thomas Pell's men-at-arms and took them to New Amsterdam as prisoners. John Alleyn, the Secretary of Connecticut, protested to Governor Stuyvesant, and Lieutenant Wheeler, Pell's Commandant, and his men were released on parole on condition that they would not take up arms against the Dutch.

Nevertheless, Governor Stuyvesant did not succeed in dislodging

Thomas Pell. This same year Pell was one of the witnesses of the definitive Treaty signed on March 10 at Fairfield with the Indians. This Treaty established in perpetuity English claims not only westward from Greenwich in Connecticut but to large sections of Dutch Westchester as well.

Thereafter, in the decade 1656-1666, Thomas Pell was Commissioner for Indian Affairs in Fairfield and, in 1662, an Assistant from Fairfield at the General Court of Connecticut.

By 1662, the situation between New Netherlands and Connecticut was critical, with Thomas Pell of Westchester in the middle. Thus, Governor Stuyvesant protested vigorously to Governor Winthrop against English incursions in Westchester and on Long Island. The Governor's reply was to invite representatives of both disputed areas to sit in the General Court of Connecticut. Thomas Pell, named this year Freeman of Connecticut, was among the Assistants who went to Hartford, and he was there when Governor Stuyvesant in October of the next year sent Commissioners to protest against the English "aggression," only to hear that the English regarded the Treaty of Hartford as "waste paper" because it had not been ratified by any governing authority in England, neither Parliament nor Lord Protector nor King. Thomas Pell had a hand also in the final "truce" whereby the Dutch agreed to suspend hostilities in Westchester and keep their hands off Flushing, Hempstead and the neighboring towns on Long Island.

Next, in 1664/65, Thomas Pell was selected to be a Deputy to the General Court of Connecticut. While at Hartford in this capacity, he granted, in order to establish English domain, a large territory in Westchester to Philip Pinckney and nine others. Secondly, in March of the same year, he obtained formal confirmation by the General Assembly of Connecticut of his Patent in Westchester subject to a general settlement between London and The Hague. He was authorized to "buy all the lands of the Indian proprietors between West Chester and the Hudson River (that makes Manhadoes an island) i.e., the Harlem River . . . provided that it be not purchased by any before, nor in their possession." In a word, Pell reaffirmed in this manner his purchase from Wampage and his fellow Indians, but including this time further territory in the vicinity of Spuyten Duyvil Creek. The new grant was also subject to a general settlement between London and The Hague.

This settlement of course took a direction which was not foreseen

at the time by either the spokesman for Connecticut or Governor Stuyvesant. In brief, Charles II at this point granted the Earl of Sterling's Proprietorship on Long Island to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, together with territories on the mainland which in fact included the whole of New Netherlands and a large part of Connecticut besides. The Duke of York despatched four warships with 5000 veteran troops under Colonel Richard Nicolls to support the newly acquired "rights." It was not long before the fleet hove to in Boston Harbor, to be greeted with grave suspicion by the Massachusetts Magnates, who refused to participate in the proposed expedition to reduce New Netherlands.

With Connecticut, however, the case was very different. Governor Winthrop mobilized the whole of the Colony's militia and joined forces with Colonel Nicolls in the attack on New York. By the end of August the British fleet (Colonel Nicolls and Governor Winthrop acting in concert) was before New Amsterdam, and it looked for a moment as though Governor Stuyvesant, although outclassed in men and material and above all guns, would fight. However, he was dissuaded from resistance by his own burghers, when, on September 21 the British warships prepared to open fire, and the Connecticut Militia, including the Westchester Trained Band under Thomas Pell, took position at what might be described as the Brooklyn end of the Fulton Street Ferry.

THOMAS PELL AND GOVERNOR RICHARD NICOLLS

For the next two years, 1664 to 1666, when Governor Richard Nicolls left for England, regretted by everyone, Thomas Pell was constantly in his company and was particularly helpful in assisting the highly successful Governor in his negotiations with the Indians. Nicolls was an honest, sensible, civilized and liberal minded man, and his Governorship was a golden age of British administration in New York. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that Thomas Pell, with his vast experience in the Colonies and his consistently broad outlook, was helpful in influencing the Governor in his fair dealings, not only with the Indians, but with the Dutch. It is an established fact, at all events, that he was of great assistance in bringing about agreement in the matter of the boundary between Connecticut and New York. The Duke of York, it will be recalled, had been granted by his Brother, Charles II, all the territory "south of the Connecticut River,"

and this would virtually have put an end to Connecticut. Thomas Pell persuaded Nicolls that the Connecticut River as a boundary was contrary to public safety and influenced the final solution whereby Stamford was to remain with Connecticut and Westchester was to go to New York, while the southern boundary line between New York and Connecticut was to start at Mamaroneck and run northwest, keeping twenty miles from the Hudson River, to the boundary of Massachusetts.

THOMAS PELL FOUNDS PELHAM MANOR

Governor Nicolls was not ungrateful to Thomas Pell, and there was a further fact in his favor. This was that he had been throughout the entire Cromwellian period a devoted Loyalist. Therefore, on October 6, 1666, as an affirmation of his confidence, the Governor confirmed, on behalf of Charles II, to Thomas Pell, "gentleman, his heirs and assigns," his proprietorship in Westchester and set it up as the "Lordshipp and Manour of Pelham." Thomas was to hold it as "an absolute, entire enfranchised township—with all and singular appurtenances, together with the privileges, immunities, franchises and advantages herein given and granted . . . forever, finally, firmly and clearly, to a large and ample a manner and form and with such full and absolute immunities as before expressed, as if he had held the same immediately from His Majesty the King of England . . . as of the Manour of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common soccage and by fealty only."

However, Thomas Pell's title did not go unchallenged. On September 26, 1669, the Court of New York City, spurred to it by some of the Hudson River Dutch burghers, questioned his right to the "Lordshipp," and Thomas testified in his defense that he had "bought the land in question in 1654 from the natives and paid them for it." The Court found for Thomas Pell, and from that moment until his death in September, 1670, he was undisturbed in his holding.

THOMAS DIES AT FAIRFIELD

Apparently Thomas Pell maintained his main place of residence in Fairfield to the last. Thus, from 1665 until his death in 1670, he served as Deputy for Fairfield in the Assembly at Hartford and took a prominent part in the deliberations. However, the summer of 1670 was spent at Pelham, supervising the construction of the new Manor

House. In September he returned to Fairfield, ailing, and before the end of the month he was dead. Thomas Pell was buried in the Old Burial Ground at Fairfield, and his will, dated September 21, 1669/70 and proved 30 September, 1669/70, is filed in the Probate Records office of that place and now in Hartford. Moreover, there were two inventories of his possessions, one in Connecticut and the other in New York Province, where his will was registered also—number one in Westchester. Thomas Pell's grave in Fairfield, beside Lucy French Pell's, sad to relate, is unmarked.

Thomas, in his will, left goods and chattels, his medical accessories, and his houses and lands, marking him as a man of wealth and prominence in the last half of the Seventeenth Century in America. The inventory of his estate is given in full in the first edition of *Pelliana*, and is on file in the Pell Family Association. Suffice to say that there were beds, blankets and coverlets galore, buck and doe skins, chairs, tables, frames, desks and bureaus, materials of all sorts, shoes, neckcloths and handkerchiefs. Then there were six silver spoons, a silver dram cup, silver buckles, silver candlesticks and a silver tankard, a silver salt cellar, a silver bowl, two silver wine cups, a dram cup, a porringer and drinking cups (all silver) a gold ring (doubtless the seal ring he had at Saybrooke) and his silver sword, the "great rappier." There was wearing apparel, including coats, 20 fine black felts, 12 white hats, ruff black shirts, worsted stockings, "stuff sutes," a silk coat and a brown silk coat, also a mohair turbie coat (apparently belonging to Lucy Pell), a silk mohair coat, a red blush coat, a red waistcoat and tammy petticoat, a green apron and a blue silk coat and a silk hood and multitudes of small things which made up a lady's wardrobe in those days. Then there were wines, notably Malaga, and beer and rum, casks and bottles. There were around thirty horses, a herd of cows, twelve oxen, fifty-three sheep, "swyne small and great," and his dog. Of course there were the bridles and reins and harnesses which went with the horses and wagons and carts. There was an abundance of farm machinery, ploughs, shears, chains, and all sorts of tools like axes, pitchforks, scythes, shovels and rakes. Kitchen utensils there were in large quantities: pots, pans, kettles (copper and pewter) and pewter pint bottles and platters. Again, there were his surgeon's instruments, his surgeon's chest with bottles, saws, alchemy spoons, mortars and skillets, together with Culpeper's *Dispensatory* and Cradock's *Works* in quarto, not to mention an "old Bible." There were many boats, sails, oars and rudders; also guns,

gun parts and powder and shot and a cutlass. There were barrels of molasses and "all ye tobacco, old and new," not to mention bushels of wheat and corn. Finally, there were the houses and lots in Fairfield; the housing, lands, barns, islands, and so on from Hutchinson's River westward and "so far eastward as were Mr. Pell's inst. and lawful right," and the house and land in Westchester.

Thomas Pell bequeathed his properties in America, including the Lordship of Pelham, to his nephew in "ould England," John Pell, son of the Reverend and Right Honorable John Pell, the mathematician, scholar, and Cromwell's Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons. John came out to America the following year and became Second Lord of the Manor of Pelham in New York.

ROBERT PELL

Villa Carillon

Bordighera, Italy, 1962

❧ APPENDIX ❧

The Pell Family Association has in its files photostatic copies of the entries relating to PELL in the Eastbourne (Sussex, England) Parish Register, the Archdeaconry of Lewes Wills, 1541-1642; the Steyning Bishop's Transcripts, giving: the baptism of Thomas Pell; the death of Mary Holland, first wife of John Pell, schoolmaster at Southwyck and Eastbourne, Sussex; John I's marriage to Joanne Gravett; the death of John I and his Last Will and Testament. The Association has also photostats of Lord Holland's letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, a deed signed by Thomas Pell at The Hague as Adelborst and his commissioning as Lieutenant. It has the full record of the references to Thomas Pell in David Lyon Gardiner's *Pequot Wars*, Mass.; Hist. Coll., 3rd Series, III; the complete documentation on his stay in New Haven and the records of Fairfield and Hartford.

In this appendix the texts are reproduced in full of:

1. John I's Last Will and Testament.
2. The Dutch protest against Thomas Pell's encroachment at "Vreelant," i.e. Pelham.
3. Letter dated 2:5:66 from Thomas Pell to Governor Winthrop.
4. The 1666 Nicolls grant of the Lordship and Manor of Pelham.
5. Thomas Pell's Last Will and Testament.

The complete listings of the inventories of Thomas Pell's estate in Westchester and Fairfield were published in the monograph of Thomas Pell in *Pelliana*, First Series, and may be consulted at the Association.

WILL OF JOHN PELL I, SCHOOLMASTER
OF SOUTHWICK AND
EASTBOURNE IN SUSSEX

Archdeaconry of Lewes

John Pell, Eastbourne

1541-1642 Wills and Admins

A15/151

: 13 Sept 1615, 18 Jul 1616 A15/151-118

13 Sept 1615 *John Pell* of Eastborne in Diocese of Chichester somewhat weak in body . . . to *John Pell my eldest son* the sune of threescore and ten pounds . . at 21 which money shall be rayseed of my household stuff to *my younger son Thos Pell* forty pounds at 21 . . . my will and meaning is that *my wife Joan* shall bring up my two children with meate drinke and apparell sufficient unto they shall come to age 21 . . if either dye before 21 the deads part shalbee payable to other livinge . . my wife can by her good meanes place out my children to the liking of her and my overseers named in this my will Then she shall take good and sufficient security for the repayment of the porcions of them or eyther of them at their several ages And also my will is that my wife shall enter into bond of double the value of my childrens porcions to the Lord Byshop of the Diocese or elsewhere this will shallbe proved to paye and discharge the legacies before named . . . to poor of parish 10s . . . to *my brother James* 10s . . . to *my sister Elizabeth* 10s . . to my twoe mayd servants 12d . . . to Mr. Vernon vicar of this parish 10s out of 30x which he oweth me for schooling his children . . . rest . . to Joan my wife the sole executrix . . loving friends Henry Panton of Lewes the elder and *Mr. Richard Gravett my brother in lawe of Steaninge* to be overseers . . to either of them 6-8d Wit: Pelham Burton Richard Vernon said John Pell doth add this following . . to elder son John Pell three silver spoons a payre of flexen hooke seamed sheets a payre of fine hempen sheets and my best fetherbed and bolster two of my best blanketts and my best coverlett and two pillows and two pillowberes and to son Thomas 4 silver spoons which was given to him at his baptism a payre of flexen hooke seamed sheets and a payre of fine newe hempen sheets and my second best fetherbed and bolster two of my second best coverlett and two pillos and two pillowberes Also to son John six napkins and my farest and largest tablecloth . . to son Thomas six other best napkins and second best and largest tablecloth . . . 5 April 1616 Wit: Arthur Pollard Richard Gravett

Proved 18 Jul 1616 on oath of Joanne Pell relict and executrix

THE DUTCH PROTEST AGAINST THOMAS PELL'S ENCROACHMENT
AT VREELANT IN PELHAM

Cornelis van Thienhoven, Fiscal of the Province of New Netherland and legal conservator of authority and jurisdiction, by commission of the High and Mighty, the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands and the Hon^{ble}, the Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, the Lords and Patroons of New Netherland, given and granted to the Right Hon^{ble} Petrus Stuyvesant, Director-General, and the Supreme Council of New Netherland:

To you, Thomas Pel, or whomsoever else it may concern.

Being instructed by the aforesaid Director-General and Supreme Council to repair to and upon the lands of Vreelant, whereof possession was taken in the time of the late Director-General Keist, and by lawful title purchased from the natives, right owners and proprietors of those lands, and paid for, as the record and sign-manual thereof in existence can show; wherefore, in quality aforesaid, I notify and make known to you, and all whom it may concern, that you and your associates have, not only settled on the lands aforesaid, which were, many years ago, purchased by the Dutch nation and taken possession of by deeds from General Kiest, of blessed memory, but by usurpation, in violation of the Treaty of Hartford and the peace concluded between both nations in Europe, occupied the same without the permission and consent of the Director-General and Supreme Council of New Netherland; Therefore I, the Fiscal, do, in the name and on the behalf of the aforesaid High and Mighty Lords States-General and Lords Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, warn you, and all whom it may concern, by the bearer hereof, Claes van Elslant, the Court Messenger, requested and empowered to serve this, not to proceed, contrary to the Treaty concluded at Hartford, on the aforesaid purchased and long possessed lands, with building, clearing, cattle-feeding or hay-mowing, or whatever, in any wise, appertains to agriculture or farming, but within fifteen days after the service hereof, to depart from the lands aforesaid, situate within the jurisdiction of New Netherland, with your people, servants or slaves, furniture, cattle, implements, and every article of property you and your nation have brought thither, on pain, if you, or any of you, after the expiration of the time aforesaid, be found to have acted contrary hereunto, of my being obliged, officially, to proceed against you, or whomsoever it may concern, as circumstances may require. Meanwhile do I protest against all damages, injuries, mischiefs and losses which may arise herefrom, whereof I declare, before God and the world, our innocence. This 19th April, 1655, in Amsterdam, in New Netherland.

CORNELIS VAN THIENHOVEN.

On the aforesaid 22^d April, 1655, have I, Claes van Elshout, Court Messenger, served the above Protest on the magistrates of the new village near Vreelant, who gave for answer: Why doth not the Fiscal write English? then we could answer in writing; we expect a settlement of the boundary between Holland and England; until that, we abide under the State of England. Done as above.

CLAES VAN ELSLANT, *Court Messenger.*

THOMAS PELL* TO JOHN WINTHROP, JR.

To ye Honored John Winthrop Esquire, Governour off his Maiestys Colony in Connecticut att his house in Hartfford these p'sent.

FAYRFEILD 2:5:66:

HONOURED SR,—Once more I doo humbly present my request to you y^t you would be pleased to visit Generall Niccols in my behalfe wth a few lines. Ye coppy off ye purchase I sent to your worship when you liued in New London in 1655 p my sonne Scott, w^{ch} you judged to be good : since it is confirmed p oath beffore Captayne Talcot. W^t ever ye Dutch Gouvernour Stevenson † pretence was, the kings majesty in his letters 1664 chalengeth all these parts of America to be his dominions; & w^t ye Dutch posessed claymed to be his teritoryes, therffore will not suffer any neighbour nation how allied so euer to sitt downe in his territtoryes wth out his leaue. No dominion his majesty allowes to forreigne power, therffore calleth them intruders : no dominion, no jurisdiction, no purchase, no pattent legally. Sr, you well know no alien, except he be naturalized, can inherit in any off y^e kings dominion, nor purchase. The Dutch not naturalized because his majesty in ye fore sayed letter 1664 calleth them intruders : therefore will haue them sujected p power (no right off dominion, no right of jurisdiction. no right to purchase), when as a naturall English man hath power to purchase in any off his majestys dominions ; all his majestys dominions being an English mans house & home, beinge vnder ye protection off his Soueraigne Lord. I judge it impossible it can legally fall to ye Duke off Yorke p conquest : when ye inhabitants off West Chester were called vnder one off his majestys colonyes p pattent power, ye inhabitants in parson endeavoringe p force off armes to subdue ye intruders accordinge to ye kings command, & their superiors, vnder whom they were subjected, maniffesting it p their parsonall apperence beffor General Niccols. Neither is it possible y^t ye articels off agreement made wth ye Dutch had any reference to ye English vnder his majesty's subiection: articeles off agreement weare made wth enemies (as enemies) not wth freinds. Ye articells

*Winthrop Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1:410-412 (1871).

†Stuyvesant—Ed.

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Richard Nicolls Esq^r Governor

Under His Royal Highness the Duke of York
of all his Territories in America To all to whom these
Warrants shall come I sendeth greeting Whereas there is a
certain tract of Land within His Government upon the
Maine situated, lying and being to the Eastward of Westchester
bounded, bounded to the westward with the river called by
the Indians Squanononke. commonly known by the English
by the Name of Hutchinsons River which runneth into the
Bay lying between Muckomatons Neck and Drin Woods Neck
commonly called Hutchinsons Bay, bounded on the East by
a brook called Drin Tree Brook or Gravely Brook, on the west
by the stream which lyeth between Long Island and
the Maine lands with all the Islands in the Sound, and
already granted or otherwise disposed of before that
tract of land so bounded was before expired, and notwithstanding
to run into the Woods about Eight English miles in breadth

ROYAL GRANT FOUNDING THE MANOR OF PELHAM
(Facsimile of a copy dated May 5, 1761 of the original grant of October 8, 1666)

Yours as shall from time to time shall be by their
Comaunders and appointees as are known to Government
some time the last day of May of the same shall
be demanded from under my Name and seal about
Twelve in New York on the Island Manhattan the sixth
day of October in the 18th Year of the Reign of our
Sovereign our Father the deceased, by the Grace
of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland
King, Defender of the Faith he doth and in the Year
of our said year 1666.

Richard Nicolls-

Entered into Record in the
Office of Records in the 8th Year
of October 1666

Mathias Nicolls Sec^y

A Copy of the Charter of Pelhams Patent
taken from the Original the 5th day of May 1761



off aggreement could not comprehend y^e Dutch breiffs y^t they should be ratified, w^{ch} were not vnder y^e Dutch power & weare his maiestys subjects, as will appeare p y^e Court off Records in Hartfford. So it makes y^e kings subjects in a worse case then intruders & oppen enemyes: loyal subjects to loose all & oppen enemyes to injoy their claymes p articells off aggreement. Sr, you being one off y^e 4 New Englands Commissioners know y^t y^e articels off aggreement did not reach his majestys subjects, but those y^t opposed his majestys interest that were made wth those parsons y^t weare in enmyty wth his majesty to mantayne their owne interest : his majestyes subjects weare not in a cappasity to be capitulating. standing vppon articels off aggreement wher was no disagreement, but wear willinge to attend his majestys service. Shall enemys power be established. & his majestyes made null & voyed? Sr, you know in his majestys letter to y^e Gouvernour & Councell to Connectic[ot] Colony it was his pleasure to exprese himself y^t their privileges & libertys, neither Civill or Eccesiasticall, should be in ffringed not in the least degree.

I shall desire to present these queres ; whither so doinge doth not charge his majesty off iniustice (establishinge Dutch breeffs) . 21y (sic) whither it doth not justly lay a stumbling block to his majestys most loyall subjects. Sr. it was your worpp^s pleasure to say you gaue y^e Generall y^e gouern[ment] off y^e bounds belonging to West Chester, not y^e propriety. Sr, I hope you will seriously consider y^e premises & appear to be helpfull at this time to your humble servant to commaund.

THO^s PELL.

Indorsed, "Mr Pell. Rec: July 4, 1666."

PATENT TO THE LORDSHIP AND MANOR OF PELHAM

GRANTED BY

RICHARD NICOLLS, ESQ., GOVERNOR

October 6, 1666

Under his Royall Highness the Duke of York, of all his territories in America. To all to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting. Whereas, there is a certain tract of land within this government upon the main, situate lying and being to the eastward of Westchester bounds, bounded to the westward with the river called by the Indians, Aqueouncke, commonly known by the English by the name of Hutchinson's river, which runneth into the bay lying between Throckmorton's neck and Ann Hooks neck, commonly called Hutchinson's bay, bounded on the east by a brook called Cedar Tree Brook or Gravelly brook, on the south by the sound which lyeth between Long Island and the main land, with all the islands

in the sound, not already granted or otherwise disposed of, lying before that tract of land so bounded as is before expressed, and northwards, to run into the woods about eight English miles in breadth as the bounds to the sound, which said tract of land hath heretofore been purchased of the Indian proprietors, and due satisfaction given for the same. Now know ye, that by virtue of the commission and authority unto me given, by his Royal Highness, James Duke of York, &c., upon whom by lawful grant and patent from his majesty, the proprietary and government of that part of the main land, as well as of Long Island, as all the islands adjacent among other things is settled, I have thought proper to give, grant, confirm and ratify unto Thomas Pell of Onckway, alias Fairfield, his majesty's colony of Connecticut, gentleman, his heirs and assigns, all the said tract of land bounded as aforesaid, together with all the lands, creeks, fishing, hawking, hunting and fowling, and all other profits, commodities, emoluments and hereditaments, to the said tract of land and islands belonging, with their appurtenances, and of every part and parcel thereof; and that the said tract of land and premises, shall be forever hereafter held, demand, reputed, taken and be and enfranchised township, manor and place itself, and shall always from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have, hold and enjoy, like and equal privileges and immunities, with any town, enfranchised place or *manor*, within this government, and shall in no manner of way be subordinate or belonging unto, have any dependency upon or in any wise be under the rules, orders or directions of any riding, township or townships, place or jurisdiction, either upon the main or upon Long Island, but shall in all cases, things, and matters, be deemed, reputed and taken and held, as an absolute, entire enfranchised township, *manor* and place of itself in this government accordingly, by the governor and his council, and the general courts of assizes only, always provided, that the inhabitants on the said tract of land, granted as aforesaid, shall be obliged to send forwards to the next towns, all public packets and letters, or Hue and Cries, coming to the place or going from it, to any other of his majesties colonies, to have and to hold the said tract of land and grant, with all and singular appurtenances, premises, together with the privileges, immunities, franchises, and advantages herein given and granted, unto the said Thomas Pell, his heirs and assigns, to the proper use and behoof of the said Thomas Pell, forever, firmly, freely and clearly, in so large and ample manner and form and with such full and absolute immunities and privileges as before is expressed, as if he had held the same immediately from his majesty the King of England, &c., &c., &c., &c., &c., his successors, as of the manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent, in free and comman socage and be fealty only, yielding, rendering and paying, yearly and every year, unto his royal highness, the duty forever, and his heirs, or to such governor as shall from time to time, be by him constituted and appointed, as an ac-

knowledgment, one lamb upon the first day of May, if the same shall be demanded. Given under my hand and seal at Fort James, in New York, on the island of Manhattan, the sixth day of October, in the 18th year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, Charles the second, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith, &c., &c., and in the year of our Lord God, 1666.

RICHARD NICOLLS

Entered and recorded in the office of New York, the 8th day of October, 1666.

MATHIAS NICOLLS, *Sect'y.*

THE LAST WILL OF THOMAS PELL

September 21, 1669/70

In ye name of God, Amen—It has pleased ye all wise God many years to exercise me with much weakness of body, and having lately taken to himsele my beloved wife Lucy, it being ye good pleasure of God to deny me natural issue of my owne body, his good hand of mercy continueing unto me to keep me in perfect memory and my understanding in a comfortable measure, according to proportion of wisdome and knowledge, where he saw meet to proportion to me, I desire in faith to give up my soule to God which gave it, my body to a comely burial, that I may be decently buried in such a comely manner that God may not be dishonored. It beinge my desire that peace may be attended in enjoyment of what God hath been pleased to give to me—this being my last will and testament—I doe make my nephew, John Pell, living in ould England, the only sonne of my only brother John Pell, Doctor of Divinity, which he had by his first wife, my whole and sole heire of all my lands and houses in any parte of New England, or in ye territoros of ye Duke of Yorke. I also give to my nephew John Pell (my whole and sole heire) all my goods, moveable or immoveable whatsoever—money, plate, chattells and cattle of all kinde—except such parcells and legacies which I give and bequeath to persons as followeth, my just debts being first paid: and if my newphew, John Pell, be deceased, and hath left a sonne or sonnes surviving him, then what I have above given to my nephew, John Pell, I give to such issue of his; and in ye default of such issue, it's my will that my brother John Pell's daughter shall enjoy ye abovesaid portion; and in case they or any of them be deceased, then it is my will that the children of my brother's daughters shall inherit the abovesaid portion, to be equally divided amongst them. It is my will, that in case my nephew, John Pell, my brother's sonne by his first wife, be deceased, and hath left no male issue, if my brother hath a sonne or sonnes by his last wife, he or they shall enjoy ye above said portion; and in ye default of them or their male issue, then my brother's daughters or

their children, shall enjoy ye above portion as is above expressed. I give to Abigail Burr, ye wife of Daniell Burr, ye best bed in my house in Fairfield, and boustis, and with two blancoates, a rug and dormink suit of curtains, six cushions, two paire of sheets, six chairs, the brewing kettle in use, two new keelers, a brewing tub, six silver spoons, with ye use of all ye plate in the house, if she desire of my executors of trust, till my heire or heires come or send his or their order how or which way all things shall be disposed of. *Item*—I give to Daniell Burr all my horses and horse colts which I have in New England, and in ye territoryes of ye Duke of Yorke: I except my mares and mare colts, which I do not give him; I except my saddle gelding, which my heire is to have if he come over—otherwise, Daniell Burr is to have him, Daniell Burr is to take ye horse flesh as they run; without any further dehinery, lett the mares be disposed of according to ye understanding of my execturors of trust. *Item*—I give to my sonne, Francis French, all my tobacco, growing or not growing, in casks, or otherways made up in rolls or twist. *Item*—I give to Nathaniell French two young cowes and one young bull. *Item*—To Elizabeth White I give the worst feather bed and boulder, one iron pott, six porringers, six spoons of alcamy, six pewter platters, one brass skellet, and fiteene pounds more in goods or cattle, current pay, and two comely suits of apparel, one for working days, another for Sabbath dayes, with two paire of shoes. *Item*—to Mary White I give six pounds and one suite of apparell of serge, with two shifts, and wool for stockings. I give to Nathaniell White, an apprentice to some handicraft trade; and if it be for his advantage, to give tenne pounds with him out of my estate, not diminishing his twenty pounds, which is to be improved for his use. I give to Barbary, my servant—I sett her at liberty to be a free woman a month after my burial, except my nephew, John Pell, come in person; she then to attend his occasions whilst he is there, not exceeding three months. Further I do give to Barbary, my servant, one flock bed and boulder, and two blancoats, a pair of sheets, and cotton rug, one iron pott, an iron skellet, six trays and chest, with a lock and key to it, six porringers, two pewter platters, six pewter spoons or ye value of them, two cowes or the value of them. I give to my ancient maid, Katharine Rysten, five pounds in cattle or county pay. I make, ordain, constitute and appoint Daniel Burr and John Bankes to be my executors of trust, and order them to pay, after my burial, all my just debts and legacyes, and to make sale of any utensils which are subject to decay—old cattle—and to be accountable to my heire or heires, and to keep up housing and fences upon my heires' charge, that the estate may not suffer. I give to my said executors of trust twenty pounds apiece, and to be paid what first charge they are at upon any incumbrances. *Item*—I give those poor men their debts upon my booke, whose names follow—Joseph Pathon, James Evers, Thomas Bassett, Roger Percy: and that this is my last will. In witness whereof, I have here-

unto sett my hand this twenty and one yeare of the raigne of our sovereigne lord, King Charles, and the twenty first of September, 1669.

ME, THOMAS PELL

Signed in the presence of us,

Nathan Gould

John Cabell

John Cabell gives oath that he was witnesse to Mr. Pell signing this will, with Mr. Gould, as he hath entered his hand. Taken upon oath before me,

NATHAN GOULD, *Assistant*

This 3d of 1669, in his Majestie's Colony of Connecticut.

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